The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

On the eastern front both the German and the Austrian armies appear to have taken up a more active offensive. Under the command of Field-Marshal von Hindenburg the German troops before Dvinsk are reported to have penetrated the Russian lines over a width of five kilometers. Germany also reports repeated attacks by the Russian troops upon her lines near Lake Boginiskoie in the region of Smorgon. These attacks, according to the German official statements, failed. The Russian official reports indicate activity of a very different kind from that which marked the retreat to her present position. Apparently either Russian defense has stiffened measurably or the German offense, weakened by the demands for supplies in the west and for the new campaign in the Balkans, has lost impetus.

On the western front the balance for the week's account seems to have inclined again towards the French. In the Champagne district, notably at Tahure, there has been a local advance made after an artillery duel similar in character to that which preceded the Anglo-French drive of the week of September 25. From London comes an official report that the British near Loos have repulsed an energetic counter-offensive directed against the positions recently won. The lack of any statement from Berlin indicates, at least, that the British still hold the general position to which they hewed their way by the overwhelming weight of artillery fire.

Not in Poland nor in France, however, lies the present center of interest. The crucial developments in the Balkan situation are such as easily to rank among the most important events of the great war. They involve questions of such historic importance and of such tremendous influence upon the future that they have aroused a popular interest in the capitals of the belligerent countries which can hardly be overestimated.

THE AUDACIOUS ADVENTURE

All question of international policy aside, the picture of Germany, driven from the sea by the British fleet, checked in the east after that astonishing drive which lost to Russia thousands of square miles of territory, facing in the west a new offensive which threatens to break through a hitherto impregnable defense, suddenly striking south with an army estimated at half a million in an endeavor to win a way through hostile territory to the relief of an almost exhausted ally, and towards the consummation of an ambition destined apparently to inevitable defeat, startles the imagination and compels the admiration which cannot be withheld from any evidence of colossal activity.

The Austro-German attack upon Servia from the north, an attack which has already swept across the Danube, taken Belgrade, and established bases along the Save and Drina, is more than a menace to the little Servian nation. It is more than an attempt to hew a passage through to the relief of Turkey. It is an indication that Germany has never abandoned her expectation of controlling the direct line of communication to the Near East. Indirectly, it is a threat against the British sovereignty in the Mohammedan world. If successful, it will do much to destroy British prestige won at the outset of the war by the suppression of Teutonic intrigue in Egypt and India and by the bold attack upon the seat of the Caliphate itself at Constantinople.

Little Servia, caught between the upper and lower millstones of the Austro-German advance on the north and the Bulgarian advance on the southeast, stands in perilous need of the assistance of her allies—assistance the sending of which self-interest, if nothing else, would dictate. For the moment, so far as can be positively known, the safety and independence of Servia rest upon the activity of perhaps a quarter of a million of her own troops and the expeditionary force of French and British. The situation is such that the Bulgarian and Austro-German armies can hardly unite without first overcoming the entire Servian forces. Within certain limits Servia has the same choice of policy which came to Germany at the outbreak of the war. She

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can bend her energies either against the Austro-Germans on her northern frontier or against Bulgaria in the Nish Valley, the direction from which one of Bulgaria's three invasions began before Bulgaria officially declared war on the Servian nation.

What of the relations of her sister nations to the conflict which has already begun in the Balkans? From Rumania there comes little indication of any immediate entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. Greece, as a Government, still waits upon the sympathies of her pro-German King. The resignation of Venizelos, which we have already reported, and the appointment of Alexander Zaimis as Prime Minister, assure for the present only the passive assistance of Greece to her pledged ally. Greece permits now, as she is supposed to have done for months, the use of a previously granted concession to Servia at the port of Salonika for the benefit of Servia's allies. A representative of the Greek nation, one of the highest rank, we are informed by an unquestionable authority, was at the landing to welcome the French troops, who then availed themselves of the rights of their Servian allies to use the railway leading northward into Servia. Thus Greece has apparently been willing to lend her name to the pro-Servian movement, though not yet ready to foot any part of the bill.

THE BALKAN STATES AND THE ENTENTE ALLIES

The morality of the action of the Allies in landing their troops upon Greek soil has been compared to that of Germany in Belgium.

The status of Greece is quite different from that of Belgium. Her neutrality is not a matter of treaty stipulation in which other Powers have an interest, but of national policy which at any time may be rightfully changed into belligerence. Belgium was a neutralized state prohibited from engaging in offensive warfare and from allowing another to use her territory as a base for war measures. Greece is free in both these regards, though subject, of course, to the restrictions of accepted international law. Belgium was an international minor; Greece is an adult. In the event of a Teutonic triumph Germany and Austria can proceed against Greece for any wrong done them as did the United States against England over the Alabama claims.

This fear of future action on the part of Germany should inevitably tend to draw Greece towards the cause of the Allies. The outcry in Germany against the violation of Greek neutrality is that of a boxer who gouges and hits below the belt, and then insists on holding his opponent to the strict letter of the rules laid down by the Marquis of Queensberry. The most serious fracture of international good faith involved in the proceeding concerns the action of Greece towards Servia, the country which she had pledged herself to defend in case of a Bulgarian attack.

Though Greece for the present has failed in her duty towards Servia, help for the latter kingdom can perhaps be expected from still another source than those which we have already mentioned. Bulgaria can be attacked by Russia by a landing effected on the coast of the Black Sea in the neighborhood of Varna and Burgas. In the case of Rumania's actively joining the Allies, or perhaps in the case of her acquiescence in the proceeding, Russia could approach Bulgaria by the railway leading to Silistria. Naturally, such a course (either of active intervention on behalf of the Allies or of acquiescence in their penetration of her territory) would expose Rumania to an Austro-German attack through the five railway passes over the eastern Carpathians on the north and northwest.

In the conduct of the diplomatic warfare which led up to the present conflict the Ambassadors of the Quadruple Entente have been handicapped by the fact that they had nothing to offer Bulgaria but the possessions of their friends. Germany and Austria, however, suffered no such inconvenience. They could freely offer to the Bulgarian King every inch of the Balkan Peninsula which they could persuade Ferdinand to believe they had the ultimate power to deliver.

THE SUBMARINE IN WARFARE

While the whole country is rejoicing over the official abandonment by Germany of her submarine attacks on transatlantic liners it may seem captious to inquire into the motives for Germany's act. Yet if our future efforts to prevent a repetition of past attacks are to be successful America will be very blind if it does not take into consideration all the facts in the case. Germany's disavowal cannot be interpreted solely from a strictly moral or a strictly legal aspect. German press comment which reaches the United States furnishes

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proof that the decision of the German Government has been based chiefly upon the hard facts of military necessity, and that the German people themselves have not fully awakened to the true state of affairs.

Within the last few weeks there has come definite evidence as to the exact degree of the success which Germany has experienced in the use of her submarine weapons. Despite the British censorship which has prevented the disclosure of details concerning the new methods of offense and defense against the submarines, trustworthy reports show that the number of German submarines actually destroyed is between fifty and sixty. The principal methods used in the destruction of German submarines are reported to be specially designed fleets of small seagoing motor boats armed with one or two 3-inch guns and possessing very high speed; a new type of mine field for the protection of steamer lanes; and huge nets for the protection of harbors and narrow passages.

Even in the narrow seas for which it is best adapted the submarine has proved a vulnerable vessel before the defensive tactics of an alert and resourceful foe. With aeroplanes hovering over them as a fishhawk hovers over a school of herring, with motor-boat destroyers patrolling the surface of the ocean, and marine telephones which can be used to detect their presence when in motion under the surface of the water, the life of enemy submarines is little better than a hazardous gamble.

In all this there is food for thought for those American experts (all Americans are experts) who have declared that the sole solution of our problem of National defense lay in the creation of a stupendous flotilla of submarines. Our real naval experts have never abandoned the view that the capital ship must remain as the backbone of a modern navy, and events have more than justified their so-called conservatism. The submarine will of course continue to develop along the lines already indicated, gaining from time to time in radius and power of action. It must never be forgotten that with the growth of the submarine there will inevitably grow weapons of defense against its threatening activity.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE WAR

Military experts have pointed out how modern science and modern efficiency have differentiated the war now raging from other great military conflicts in Europe. Asphyxiating gas, gigantic artillery, and bomb-throwing air-ships are some of the martial agencies employed for the first time. A letter to the "Journal de Genève" indicates that one of the belligerents, at least, has thought that forgery and counterfeiting could be employed profitably in modern warfare. The great Swiss chocolate house of Cailler-Peter-Kohler writes to the "Journal de Genève" saying that the Russian War Department has protested against the introduction into Russia from neutral countries of appeals to the Russian people in favor of peace under cover of wrappers or circulars contained in imported merchandise. Among other things, tablets of Cailler chocolate were widely offered for sale wrapped in paper on which appeals for peace were circulated. By a curious coincidence, this happened just at the time when Germany was alleged to be making overtures for peace to the Russian Government.

The firm of Cailler, having investigated the matter, states that not only were these appeals, supposed to have been issued by them, forged, but the very tablets of chocolate were counterfeit and had never come from their factory. They have never, they said, sent out any kind of an appeal whatever. They "protest energetically against this abusive use of their trade-mark and of their reputation;" and they propose to take such measures as they can to protect themselves from such "reprehensible acts." At about the same time the "Journal de Genève" contained the statement in its news columns that several German journals had published extracts from a supposed proclamation of King Albert of Belgium addressed to his people on the occasion of their great national holiday on the 21st of July. On investigation it appeared that the members of the Belgian Government, the seat of which is now at Havre, in France, knew nothing of this proclamation except what they saw about it in the German journals, and they pronounced it to be "a forgery in every particular, evidently published to deceive the public."

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN RUSSIA

Among the legislative projects that the Russian Duma had in contemplation when it was dismissed was a bill to promote the mobilization and utilization of the industrial resources of the country by giving greater

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freedom and fuller development to peasant co-operative societies. The number of such societies on the first of January, 1915, was about 35,000, with a total male membership of nearly 12,000,000, which would represent a population of perhaps 60,000,000 (statement of the co-operation expert A. V. Merkulof, Novosti, April 9, 1915). Among them were 10,900 consumers' leagues, 14,350 mutual credit associations, 5,000 agricultural societies, 1,650 agricultural companies, 2,700 butter-making *artels*, and 600 manufacturing *artels*. In the number of such organizations Russia is second only to Germany, while in total membership she takes first place. No other country in the world has 12,000,000 members of co-operative societies. The mutual credit associations alone represent a population of 25,000,000, and have financial resources estimated at over $300,000,000.

The progress of the Russian co-operative movement in recent years has been very rapid, but it has been regarded by the bureaucracy with a good deal of apprehension, as all popular movements are, and when the co-operative societies began to form great territorial "unions" for the better promotion of objects common to them all, the Czar's officials, and particularly the provincial governors, began to "regulate" them by throwing obstacles in their way. As recently as July of the present year the Government prevented, although it did not directly forbid, a territorial convention to be composed of delegates from eight northern provinces—Archangel, Vologda, Perm, Viatka, Kostroma, Yaroslav, Novgorod, and Olonetz.

THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF CO-OPERATION

Inasmuch as the members of these co-operative societies are the ablest, soberest, and most thrifty men in the peasant villages—the flower, in fact, of the rural population—they might, if given a free hand, render invaluable service in the production or collection of war supplies. In many cases they have already done this, and upon their own initiative. In the territory of the Don, for example, the co-operative agricultural societies have furnished nearly thirty-five per cent of all the grain and forage bought for the army in that region, and have fulfilled their undertakings promptly, honestly, and conscientiously. And yet in that same territory the petition of the societies for leave to hold a convention has been pending without decision for nearly two years. (Petrograd "Reitch," July 20, 1915.) The bureaucratic authorities, of course, are afraid, first, that if the people are allowed to hold conventions they will get in the habit of acting together in great masses; and, second, that at such meetings they will discuss dangerous economic and political questions which, from the bureaucratic point of view, are none of their business. A questionnaire recently sent out by a committee of co-operative societies in Petrograd elicited more than a thousand replies from co-operators in various parts of the Empire, describing the restrictions to which they are subjected and the obstacles thrown in their way by governors and other bureaucratic officials.

Late in August representatives of six different political parties in the Duma framed and introduced a bill giving co-operative societies the right to form interprovincial unions and hold territorial conventions and freeing them from many of the disabilities that have hitherto hampered them. What the fate of this bill has been we do not yet know. Newspaper correspondents in Petrograd telegraph the details of battles, even to the capture of two or three machine guns and a few hundred prisoners; but they say nothing about a bill which, if it should become law and enable thirty-five thousand co-operative societies to join as a great business corporation in the work of furnishing needed supplies, might have more effect on the war than the addition of half a dozen army corps to the fighting force. Probably the bill did not pass owing to the untimely dismissal of the Duma by a Czar who may desire the co-operation of the people *under bureaucratic direction*, but who is afraid to give the people a free hand in the Duma, in the zemstvos, or in the co-operative societies.

AMERICANISM, NOT HYPHENISM

The re-definition of Americanism which The Outlook has urged repeatedly is being made. Speaking before the Knights of Columbus in New York City on Columbus Day, Mr. Roosevelt reiterated with characteristic vigor his attitude towards hyphenated Americanism which for months he has uncompromisingly stated. Speaking to an audience made up very largely of Americans born in Ireland or descendants from Irish parents, he declared that the one absolutely certain way of ruining this country would be

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to permit it to become "a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more in sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with the other citizens of the American Republic. The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans, and there ought not to be room for them in this country." This kind of an American "has no place here, and the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart allegiance, the better it will be for every good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else."

He called attention to the fact that the Germans and Austrians have taken the view that as a matter of right they can treat their countrymen resident in America, even if they have become naturalized citizens, as their allies and subjects to be used in keeping alive separate national groups, and therefore profoundly un-American in sentiment. A striking feature of his speech, which was given under the auspices of a great society of the Catholic Church, was his denunciation of sectarianism in politics, and his plea that public school money should not be diverted to sectarian uses. The entire address was greeted with cordial applause.

The previous day President Wilson struck the same note in his speech before the Daughters of the American Revolution at their meeting in Washington. He declared that he looked forward to the necessity in every political agitation in the years which are immediately at hand of calling upon every man to declare where he stands, and he challenged those who did not place America first to stand on one side. He affirmed his faith that the test of "American first" would be successfully met by a vast majority of foreign-born citizens in this country, and said that he was not deceived as to the balance of opinion among such citizens; but he is in a hurry to have a line-up and let the men who are thinking of other countries stand on one side. He spoke with great vigor, and his definition of Americanism was received with great applause. His audience was specially interested in what he had to say about neutrality. "It is not to be suspected," he said, "that American hearts do not throb with intense sympathy or that American heads have not formed clear ideas of the merits of the great war, and the preservation of our neutrality must not be attributed to a desire to keep out of trouble."

If the President has waited, as some of his friends have declared, to ascertain the sentiment of the country before speaking on these subjects, his utterances will be the more welcome as indicating his belief that American opinion has ceased to be flabby and inchoate and is becoming, what The Outlook has repeatedly predicted it would become, a definite and overwhelming National sentiment.

A NOBLE RELIEF WORK

In the face of the disaster that overwhelmed Europe a year ago, the Rockefeller Foundation recognized its duty.

Its first appropriation enabled Dr. Alexis Carrel (a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research whose services had been accepted by the medical corps of the French army) to meet the urgent need for anti-meningitis serum and anti-dysentery serum.

Another appropriation greatly contributed toward the cost of sending American Red Cross physicians and nurses to Europe.

Another covered the cost of providing a depot to which gifts in kind from all parts of the country could be sent and from which they could be transshipped to Belgium. At that time the Commission for Relief in Belgium had not completed its organization of a similar agency. The Belgian Relief Fund was exercising the function of soliciting gifts of money and supplies. So the Rockefeller Foundation paid the freight charges and provided the necessary depot in New York City and also the ships for ocean transportation. The successful despatching of those ships is now a matter of current history. The total cost of the food supplies given by the Foundation was nearly a million dollars.

A more widespread work was undertaken when the Foundation sent a Commission to Europe to inquire into the need of relief measures in all the countries concerned. This Commission was composed of Mr. Wickliffe Rose, Director-General of the International Health Commission; Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, National Director of the American Red Cross; and Mr. Henry James, Jr., Manager of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The Commission visited

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the theater of war in Belgium, Poland, and Servia.

A particular contribution with regard to Belgium, though much smaller than that involved in the shipment of food supplies, was the provision for stipends to those professors of scientific subjects in the University of Louvain who had been obliged to abandon their own laboratories.

The Foundation's further reports will be awaited with a specially keen interest, due to appreciation for what has already been done.

THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

With the publication of the third article by Mr. Edward I. Bell on the Mexican problem, we complete this week the series announced three weeks ago. The first article, entitled "Carranza—A Criminal Solution," which appeared in The Outlook of October 6, was a review of the career and an interpretation of the character of Venustiano Carranza. The second article, entitled "Regeneration from Within—A Hopeless Solution," which appeared last week, was a consideration of the present situation in Mexico as created by revolutionary and factional strife. The last article, which is published in this issue, is Mr. Bell's argument for the necessity of restricted intervention by the Government of the United States.

Newspaper despatches from Washington bearing the impress of official authority announce that President Wilson's Administration, with the approval of the A B C mediators, has decided to recognize Carranza as the political and military head of Mexico. The Outlook has taken pains to assure itself that the facts stated by Mr. Bell in his articles, both as to recent history and as to present conditions in Mexico, are accurate and reliable. These facts, in our judgment, make it clear that Carranza is neither in training, character, nor capacity the man who can restore social justice and stability in that unhappy country.

It has been semi-officially announced that President Wilson will not recognize Carranza unless he gives satisfactory pledges that he will make an effective decree of political amnesty in Mexico. What purport to be such pledges have been published in this country. Almost on the day of their publication press despatches contained the news that Albert Garcia Granados, ex-Minister of Internal Affairs in the Huerta Government, had been executed by the Carranza Military Court in Mexico City because of his alleged complicity in the assassination of Madero. Granados was a lawyer of recognized character and ability. His execution is only another indication of the untrustworthiness of the pledges of the Carranza régime. Señor Granados remained in Mexico when most of the men of position fled from the Villa and Carranza uprisings. He also might have saved himself, and the fact that he stayed is at least an indication of his courage. Attacked some months ago, he took refuge in the Japanese Legation. General Pablo Gonzales, of Carranza's army, in charge of Mexico City, declared amnesty for all Carranza's political opponents. Thereupon Granados left the Legation, was arrested, and executed. Will other responsible Mexican refugees return when Carranza is the recognized head of the Government to risk the danger of similar treatment?

A news despatch in the New York "Times" of October 12 contained the following paragraph:

> The American Red Cross finally closed its work in this city yesterday and its representatives will return to the United States. For some time their work has been practically confined to the relief of destitute Americans.

In contrast with this is the following extract from a private letter which was written in Mexico City and was received in New York on October 5, and which has been submitted for our inspection:

> One hundred or more persons are dying daily from starvation on our streets. . . . Things are steadily growing worse. Charcoal is $20 a sack; corn is $2.50 a kilogram (2 1-5 pounds). What can the poor people do who have no money—except die? We are afraid to venture on the streets.

A prominent American engaged in Mexican relief work to whom this letter was submitted says that his most recent advices from Mexico City indicate similar conditions.

It is natural that the American Government and that men having great property and political interests in Mexico should desire to have some kind of order established as soon as possible. But the facts related by Mr. Bell and confirmed to us by reliable authority, as well as the news despatches of the continued opposition to Carranza by Villa, Zapata, the Arieta brothers of Durango, and other wandering revolutionaries of more or less strength, prompt us to make a predic-

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tion. If Carranza is recognized by the United States, even if that recognition should be confirmed by other governments in South America and Europe, it will be only a temporary expedient. We shall have sooner or later to go through the same perplexities and turmoil with Carranza that we have been through with every man selected to direct the destinies of Mexico since the retirement of Porfirio Diaz.

MILITARY SCHOOLS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Association of Military Schools and Colleges has for several years been trying to get Congress to pass some measure recognizing the work of the schools and putting in effect a plan by which the Government in time of need might profit from the work of these schools during the last twenty years. Up to this time, however, the efforts of the Association have been without concrete result. It now seems probable that the next Congress will pass some measure providing for a reserve army or a reserve officers' corps. In such a case the military school system of the United States should not be overlooked. It is now overlooked because the National character of these schools is not understood or appreciated.

Under the Land Grant College Law, passed through the efforts of the late Senator Morrill, of Vermont, and popularly known as the "Morrill Law," about one hundred educational institutions in this country provide military training for their students, assisted and directed by the War Department. To each of these institutions the War Department lends the necessary equipment and to each of them it sends an officer of the army to act as professor of military science and tactics. About sixty of these institutions are degree-granting colleges, and, in round numbers, thirty are preparatory schools, doing scholastic work about equivalent to that of our good high schools.

In most of the colleges the military work consists of a few drills per week during a part of either one or two years, confined usually to members of the freshman and sophomore classes, with a few lectures on military topics given to the senior class by the officer on detail. Uniform is worn only at drills, and there is no attempt to make the discipline or life of the institution military in form or tone.

But in all of the thirty schools and in four of the colleges the students live a life and are under a discipline approximate to that found at the United States Military Academy at West Point; that is, the cadets are always in uniform, and are under military discipline throughout twenty-four hours of each day for the whole school year. The average age of the boys in these schools is about seventeen and a half years, and, while no figures have ever been published showing the average number of years spent by the cadets in the school, the estimate of a leading authority is that this term of service is about two and a half years. While the methods of work and the strictness of the military training differ somewhat in the various institutions, it is well within the bounds of truth to state that these boys and young men get, on the average, two and a half years of thorough and effective military training while they are at the most receptive and pliable age.

A small proportion of these boys enter the army either through West Point or under the system of appointment from civil life, but the great majority go either to college or direct into business or some other form of civil activity. It is no exaggeration to say that wherever they go they carry with them for life the disciplinary effects of their military school training.

APPROVED BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT

The War Department, through what is called the College Committee of the General Staff, is in close touch with the work of all these institutions, and inspects each one of them once every year. As a result of this inspection the ten colleges in which the military work has been carried on with the greatest interest and success are designated each year as "distinguished colleges," and under a ruling of the War Department each of them is given the privilege of recommending one graduate every year for appointment as second lieutenant in the United States army. If vacancies exist, and if the young men so recommended can pass the physical examination, they are given commissions as second lieutenants without further mental examination.

The War Department also inspects the thirty military schools, and designates ten of them, which have been most successful and efficient for the year and possess the military equipment which enables them to do the work required, as Honor Schools. It has been

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the express desire of the War Department to reward these Honor Schools by giving each of them the privilege of recommending one of its graduates for appointment as a cadet at West Point yearly, this appointment to be "at large" and to be made by the Secretary of War as a result of the recommendation of the school. Since this measure would mean an enlargement of the Cadet Corps by ten such appointments each year, or a total of forty for the four years of the course, it cannot be made effective until authorized by an act of Congress. Up to this time the efforts of the Military School Association, with the support of the War Department, have not been successful in getting such an act passed by Congress, and this admirable idea, therefore, has never become practically effective.

MILITARY SCHOOLS ONE BASIS OF MILITARY DEFENSE

Many of the other institutions among the thirty military schools which have not been designated as Honor Schools are excellent institutions both from an academic and military point of view. In fact, the dividing line is so narrow that for the year 1914–15 the College Committee of the General Staff found the work of selection so difficult that they increased the number of Honor Schools to eleven.

The value of the grounds, buildings, and equipment of the eleven "Honor Schools" is well above $4,000,000, and over twenty-six hundred cadets are in regular attendance at these schools. The physical equipments of the four military colleges are valued at over $500,000, and over nine hundred cadets are in attendance. The physical equipments of the nineteen military schools not designated as Honor Schools are valued at $1,800,000, and nearly twenty-three hundred cadets are in attendance. The total value of the property of all these institutions in which military training is based upon the West Point system is therefore over $6,000,000, and the number of boys and young men receiving instruction in them is nearly six thousand.

These institutions are all private in organization and management, and the charges for board, tuition, etc., must cover the entire cost of maintenance of the whole system. It is a safe estimate that this averages at least five hundred dollars per year for each cadet, and this means that the parents of these boys are voluntarily spending $3,000,000 per year for the privilege of having their boys educated under military discipline.

A bare statement of the above related facts and figures ought to be all that is necessary to make any reasonable man feel that the system of American private military schools should be considered as an important factor in any legislative plan looking towards the creation of a reserve army or a reserve officers' corps. It would be difficult to find any group of young American men in civil life better adapted for duty as reserve officers than the students and graduates of these institutions. The general officers of the army, the legislators, and the public-minded citizens who are working for the strengthening of our National defense ought certainly to give careful consideration to this system of private schools which has quietly but effectively for many years been giving its students the advantages of first-rate technical and disciplinary military training.

THE RAILWAY AND THE PEOPLE

During ex-President Taft's visit to the Pamama Exposition at San Francisco in September he made a notable speech at the Commercial Club of that city, in which he said:

> Now the result of all the trust, railroad, and political abuses that I have described was to stir up the people to a consciousness of the danger there was of turning this country over to a plutocracy and transferring to corporate control our whole political system; and we went through in the course of ten years a great reform, a real reform, and, I am sincere in what I say, we ought all to be glad that this reform has taken place. The result was that corporations have been practically driven from politics, that their contributions have been forbidden, and that the people have been stirred up on the question of public grants for public use, so that undue privileges and the benefit of such grants shall not be given to corporations without safeguards for the future operation of these grants in the interest of the public. But, my friends, you cannot stir up a great leviathan like the people, you cannot go down to the depths of their souls and nerve them up to indignation and a determination to do great things, and then think that they are going to stop on the median line and be exactly just. That is not in the nature of popular government. The excesses to which the people go are in the nature of a cost for curing the original disease.

With the general spirit of these remarks we are in hearty sympathy, but in justice to

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the great popular leviathan which Mr. Taft intimates is at present unreasonably smashing things, it ought to be remembered that the "original railroad disease" is not as yet entirely cured. The wrecking of the St. Louis and San Francisco and the Rock Island systems, and at least some of the mismanagement of the New Haven system, are occurrences of such recent history that the popular leviathan is not wholly to blame if it manifests some fear that similar social boils may break out elsewhere on its great carcass.

The Rock Island incident is notoriously bad. A prosperous railway running through a populous region, which for many years served both its customers and stockholders well, fell into the hands of a group of unscrupulous financiers, and is now in the hands of receivers. Testimony shows that very large sums of money were deliberately diverted from the railway for the personal benefit of the insiders. Is it surprising that even conservative men are beginning to ask themselves whether the evils of government ownership can be any worse than those contained in the Rock Island records?

AN EXPERIMENT IN "SAFETY FIRST"

When, some months ago, a school-boy in Rochester, New York, was killed on his way to school, his fellows at once formed themselves into a "safety first" organization, and voluntarily guarded the smaller children at certain danger spots both before and after school.

The Rochester Chamber of Commerce, seeing this interest among the young, very soon launched a "safety first" movement among the school-children, which has as its ultimate purpose the enlistment of the city's entire body of forty thousand school-children under the banner of "safety first."

Proceeding along the line of least resistance, the Chamber of Commerce utilized the boys' clubs already existing in thirty of the city's forty schools. These clubs limited their membership to thirty of the larger boys. Good scholarship, good character, good conduct were prerequisites of membership. Failure to live up to standard was cause for dismissal. It was distinctly an honor to "make the boys' club." Each club has a long waiting list. So these clubs, by natural selection, represent the best among Rochester's boyhood.

With the co-operation of the school authorities, the Chamber of Commerce has organized in each club a Safety Committee of six members, who will represent their club in the Junior Safety Council. This council meets once each month in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce. The meetings are serious, orderly, and dignified. A letter from the Chamber of Commerce is always read, accidents are discussed, and methods of prevention are taught. The meetings are really in charge of an older person, though conducted by the boys. In the schools the teachers make it part of their work to discuss accidents and preventive methods, and the children are urged to carry home to their parents the things they learn.

Here is a sample of the letters read at the Council meetings:

April 26, 1915.

To the Members of Junior Safety Council:

The Golden Rule of "Safety First" is "Guard others as you would yourself." If every boy and girl in Rochester had practiced this last fall, a little girl, three years old, might have been saved from a very painful accident. It happened on the 6th day of August, 1914. The child was playing along the curb at South Goodman Street and Monroe Avenue, at about eight o'clock in the morning. She ran out into the street and was struck by the fender of a car. Luckily, the car was going slowly, and the child received only an injury to her head. But it was painful and kept her from playing with her friends for some time.

That happened while some of YOU, possibly, were on your way to school. You should at all times watch boys and girls, WHETHER THEY ARE OLDER OR YOUNGER than yourselves, and be ready to warn them of danger. It is worth while to know that you have saved another fellow's brother or sister from injury. The other fellow may do the same for your brother or sister some day.

You should be watchful of others, but DO NOT FORGET YOURSELF. LOOK BOTH WAYS BEFORE CROSSING THE STREET. A foot on your leg is worth TWO under a street car.

Yours for safety,
ROCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Roland B. Woodward, Secretary.

As more boys' clubs are formed, more safety committees will be represented, until every school in Rochester becomes part of the league for safety. Meantime the teachers and the men in charge of the Junior Safety Council are leaving no stone unturned in their efforts to drive home the lesson of "safety first." By elevating the movement to the dignity of a school course

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they have made the children take the matter seriously.

The immediate result of this movement has been, and will continue to be, a great decrease in accidents. The indirect result will be the rearing of a generation of careful, foresighted men and women. Both industry and the city will reap the benefits in the form of a greatly lessened economic burden.

When we consider that in the United States alone during the past twenty-five years 113,570 persons have been killed and 123,611 persons injured, and that nearly all of these casualties were due to carelessness, we begin to see the significance of this "safety first" movement among the children of Rochester.

A POET'S BIRTHDAY

It has been often said that the success of "Trilby" killed Du Maurier. It brought the whole world to his doors, and when the world crowns a man it works him to death.

On the night of October 7 Mr. James Whitcomb Riley must have been ready to pray for deliverance from his friends. Americans everywhere seemed to be bent on telling him how much they cared for him. It was his sixty-second birthday, and on such occasions emphasis rests on a man's personal qualities and on what may be called the human elements in his work rather than on his artistic achievement. The neighbors know whether a man is sound at heart and pleasant to live with; the next generation knows how much of an artist he is. There is no question about Mr. Riley's neighborliness; he has been neighbor to the whole country; he has borne an intimate relation to childhood, to farm life, to the hearthstone, and to the landscape around him. In a moment of misdirected enthusiasm a feminist recently declared that the hearthstone of the home no longer existed; it had become the hearthstone of the world; and a woman who was present remarked that that would be a very cold place to bathe a baby. Mr. Riley has celebrated the hearthstone of the home.

When the morning came, his own home was flooded with cablegrams from Americans abroad and from distinguished Americans at home, beginning with President Wilson and Mr. Howells. There were birthday cakes, silver horseshoes, and there were letters from scores of children which mostly took the form of "Poems to Riley." All day long a stream of friends went through the house; Indianapolis waved its good will in countless flags; there were pictures of the poet in the shop windows; and in all the schools throughout Indiana there were special exercises which consisted largely of recitations from Mr. Riley's poems. In the evening there was a big dinner at which an ex-Vice-President of the United States presided and the Governor of Indiana, one of the Senators from Indiana, and ex-Senator Beveridge and William Allen White, who had come all the way from Kansas, and Dr. Finley, who had gone all the way from New York, made affectionate speeches. There was an "Afternoon with Riley" in the theater.

The day so happily celebrated was so impatient that it arrived before midnight, when the red and white torches of serenaders made a semicircle around the Riley gate and sang Riley songs. In the evening, when the poet, after many hours of multitudinous handshakes and innumerable messages from various parts of the world, entered the room where the dinner was held, he heard himself repeated in the phrases that are probably as dear to him as they are to other people, and when he replied his face beamed with happiness.

Though envious pens have been dipped in gall and set down bitter words about the Indiana School of Poets, there is no man, woman, or child in America to-day who does not wish well to James Whitcomb Riley.

MEMORIAL TO ROBERT C. OGDEN

The friends and associates of Robert C. Ogden propose to erect to his memory at Hampton Institute what that Institute greatly needs, an auditorium. The motto over the platform might well be, "He being dead yet speaketh." For this purpose a committee has been organized composed of both Northern and Southern men who were associated with Mr. Ogden in his educational work in and for the South. The Chairman of this Committee is ex-President Taft.

The question is frequently asked, sometimes cynically, sometimes quite sincerely, Can a man be both a successful business man and a consistent Christian? The life of Robert C. Ogden answers that question with an emphatic affirmative. No one who is familiar with the business history of New York and Philadelphia during the last quarter-century can doubt that Robert C. Ogden

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was a successful business man. No one who was familiar with Robert C. Ogden can doubt that his life and character were guided and inspired by a spirit of loyalty to the precepts and principles of Jesus Christ.

Mr. Ogden and General Armstrong were friends before the Civil War, and when, at the close of the war, General Armstrong took command of the camp of Negro refugees at Hampton, Virginia, and on this most unpromising foundation built what The Outlook regards as one of the great educational institutions of the country, it was natural for him to look to his friend, then a successful merchant in Philadelphia, for companionship and assistance in his difficult undertaking, and equally natural for Mr. Ogden, being the man he was, to join his friend. The difficulty of the enterprise was an irresistible attraction to them both. How the great educational movement which has made the Southern States pioneers in the work of education grew, not all out of the seed planted at Hampton, but all out of the spirit in these two men who planted that seed, there is no room here to tell. It would require separate chapters upon the Peabody Education Fund; the Capon Springs Conference and the Educational Conferences which grew out of it; the Southern Education Board, which grew out of these conferences; and the General Education Board, which grew out of the Southern Education Board. It must suffice to say that to this steadily growing work Mr. Ogden gave, not merely of his means, but of his life. His indefatigable energy was the envy and the admiration of his associates, whose esteem for him was at once a reverence and a love. To an extraordinary degree he united strength with gentleness, and wisdom of judgment with generosity of impulse. We cannot better express our own judgment as to the appropriateness of the proposed memorial than in the words of Mr. Taft: "No feature of Mr. Ogden's activities better deserves to be recalled and emphasized than what he did for Hampton. He did it because he knew that Hampton was the mother of the movement toward the vocational betterment of society, white and black, throughout the country."

VASSAR COLLEGE FIFTY YEARS OLD

On October 12 Vassar College celebrated its fiftieth birthday. It is a little difficult to realize that the great progress in the education of women, marked by the history of Vassar College, has all taken place within the last half century. When Vassar was founded, there was no institution for the education of women similar in scope and ambition to the college which was destined, through the generosity of Matthew Vassar and the ideals of his advisers, to have so successful a growth. The early history of the movement for the education of females, a generic term happily in more common use a half-century ago than it is to-day, and the struggles and jealousies which surrounded the organization of Vassar College, are very interestingly recounted in a recent volume from the pen of Dr. James Monroe Taylor, President Emeritus of Vassar, called "Before Vassar Opened," and recently published by the Houghton Mifflin Company. Some of the advice which Mr. Vassar received concerning the disposal of his bequest is fully as amusing as it is instructive. One adviser, closely in touch with the philanthropic Poughkeepsie brewer, suggested, among numerous other things, that the new college should have an art gallery. According to this man's advice, it would be foolish policy, however, to make a large expenditure on this account. He suggested that Mr. Vassar first buy a few pictures and then get a good painter as Professor of Art, and let him spend such time as was not occupied in the teaching of his profession in painting pictures for the new gallery! Fortunately, this ingenuous thought was not put in practice.

President-Emeritus Taylor was one of those who delivered an address at the fiftieth anniversary celebration. In his speech he summed up the situation which faced the first trustees of Vassar as follows:

> Confronting the prejudices of the day, though firm believers in woman's sphere and specific duties, these first trustees of Vassar declared that women should have here the opportunity of broad and liberal training, leaving the question of its specific use for their own determination in maturer years. It was a great contribution, in 1865, the year of the closing of our Civil War. It was even then recognized as such, and by most it was believed to be new.

To-day no one denies for an instant the right of women to be given an education equal in every respect to that which has long been the possession of their brothers. Not what women have a right to know, but what it is their duty to learn in order that their peculiar contribution to civilization may

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be best preserved and developed, is the problem that confronts the modern educational world.

A VILLAGE THAT GAVE ITSELF

The New York "Times" recalls an extraordinary illustration of devoted love of country and eagerness to serve it. There is a little village in Cheshire County, New Hampshire, called Nelson. It had two hundred and thirty-one inhabitants, but during the Civil War it sent one hundred and twenty-four men to the front. That was an achievement so remarkable that Mr. Henry Melville, a Nelson man, has made a record of it in a tablet which he has presented to the village. He has supplemented the tablet with a pamphlet which tells the story of the one hundred and twenty-four men who went to the front—old and young; husbands, fathers, and probably grandfathers.

To a man to whom the word America means something concrete and moving the pamphlet is like a bugle-call; a single phrase follows most of the brief biographies—"Born in Nelson." But one record recalls a man who was born in Patagonia—the one representative of the foreign world. There was a boy from Harrisville who could not enlist because he was not of legal age and who ran away and enlisted from Nelson, where people did not know him. He was taken prisoner at Harper's Ferry in 1862, but he escaped or was exchanged, and was promoted and not mustered out until two months after the war was over. Another man, Barker by name, was a musician and was wounded in the Battle of the Wilderness. He was ordered to the operating-table, but refused to go, and lay in the scrub oak all day holding his broken hand in a brook, thus saving it, though for professional purposes it was not very useful afterward. Another man from Nelson, J. F. Foster, gave a lift to a comrade one day in September, 1864, and was taken prisoner while he was performing this service. His chief grievance against the Confederates was that they had taken away his new hat and given him an old one in very bad condition in exchange.

The "Times" sums up its brief editorial report of the splendid patriotism of this little village with the words: "There still must be some left who take off their hats to Nelson." There are many more left than people imagine, only they do not write to the newspapers nor make speeches; nor are they planning to go to Europe on peace missions.

PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN UNITY

The Bishop of Birmingham, England, the Right Rev. Dr. Henry Russell Wakefield, is a good example of a wide-awake prelate. He has all-around interests, as may be seen from the fact that he is chairman of the Central Committee on the Unemployed, member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, chairman of the London Guild of Hope, and the chairman of the Juvenile Board of the Church Temperance Society. When the Bishop walks abroad, he has an eye out for everything that is upbuilding, socially or religiously. And when he recently took rather a long walk abroad—namely, in France—he had an eye out, not only for the doings of war, but also as to the effect of war on religion. He declares, in the London "Times," that out of this war there should come the possibility of a better understanding among the various religious bodies. As an instance in point, he mentions the case of the present Catholic Archbishop of Rouen. On the day when Dr. Wakefield saw the Archbishop an Anglican celebration of the Holy Communion had been permitted in the archiepiscopal chapel. The Anglican Bishop asked the Roman Catholic prelate whether there was any objection to this being done. The reply was, "Certainly not." And then, says Dr. Wakefield, after a moment's thought, the Archbishop went on: "After all, what does it matter whether one celebrates in one vestment and another in a different one, if at the root of things we are the same? Of course, at the root there must be union of belief."

Another example of practical Christian unity, and also another instance of Roman Catholic courtesy and broad-mindedness, is the benediction sent by Cardinal Gibbons to Dr. Charles Fiske, of Baltimore, on the occasion, a fortnight ago, of the latter's consecration as Bishop of Central New York. The new Bishop is a man who has been notably successful in his various rectorships. He succeeded Bishop Murray, the present Bishop of Maryland, as rector of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, of Baltimore, and immediately made his personality felt in both church and community. He has been particularly a man's parson, his Men's Club having been one of the largest in Baltimore,

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comprising the adherents of a number of denominations in its membership. He has also been one of the leaders in the social service work of the city, and is above the average ability both as preacher and as administrator.

THE NAMES OF STREETS

According to the Paris "Temps," there is such a thing as carrying one's prejudices too far.

The Municipal Council of Paris is considering a proposition to change the names of all streets which recall anything German, supplanting them by those which would redound to French glory.

Now what is the first quality of the name of a street? asks the editor. "To become a friend of one's memory"—that is to say, a name easy to locate. A town's elemental quality is that it should be habitable—that is to say, one should locate himself easily in it without having to carry a directory under his arm. Hence all old names of streets ought to be preserved unless there is some extremely grave motive for a change.

The best names of streets are those which recall some site or near-by monument, or those which of themselves guide the passers-by. One easily understands how there is a Rue Jean-Jacques-Rousseau, or a Quai Voltaire, or an Avenue Victor-Hugo, because they recall the habitations of these men. Still more natural is it that certain avenues should be named after the countries to which they lead, as, for instance, the Avenue d'Allemagne, which indicates simply that this avenue leads in the direction of Germany, just as the Avenue d'Italie opens the great route to Italy. Why suppress the name Avenue d'Allemagne? The name, as the "Temps" points out, is no homage to Germany; it is simply a geographical indication.

The Rue de Berlin belongs to a different class. The name was not at all due to any desire to magnify the German capital. Quite the contrary. It was given to the street to commemorate a great French victory—namely, the entry of Napoleon and the French army into Berlin.

If the Paris Municipal Council wishes to honor the heroes of the present war, it is emphatically right, remarks the "Temps," but it should find other means than the renaming of some important Paris streets, making circulation difficult, if not impossible, and itself hindering its own function, which is to facilitate circulation.

THE NEW YORK SUBWAY DISASTER AND TECHNICAL COMMENT

Two weeks ago The Outlook reported the caving in at two places of the timbers covering the New York subways now under construction. These disasters resulted in the killing of nine persons and the injuring of a great many more, besides the tying up of many blocks of New York's already congested streets.

The "Engineering and Mining Journal," in commenting upon these two disasters, states its belief that both could have been avoided by the observance of precautions familiar to any mining engineer.

The first of these accidents occurred by the shooting out by a blast of some timber supporting the street over the excavation. The expert of the "Engineering and Mining Journal" says: "The shooting out of a timber or a set of timbers is a forgivable thing, either in a mine or a New York subway, but if a light blast such as was used in this subway work resulted in the destruction of an entire stope, the mining engineer would not consider the matter excusable."

The second accident was caused by a fall of rock at the corner of Broadway and Thirty-eighth Street. The fall caused the collapse of the entire street for a distance of seventy feet. The rock at this point, as The Outlook has already reported, is Manhattan schist, dipping in a westerly direction about sixty degrees. According to the "Engineering and Mining Journal," the mining engineer meets such a condition by a system of square-set timbering, a method developed in the Comstock Lode more than forty years ago. The timbering in the New York subway, says the "Engineering and Mining Journal," "cannot be said to approach square-set timbering in any way, but it does indicate that square-set timbering could have been used without any inconvenience to subsequent construction—in the way of putting in concrete piers or erecting the steelwork for the permanent structure. This would have afforded complete security against the fall of rock which caused the second accident, and would have prevented the collapse of the entire structure if it had been used at the scene of the first accident." The "Engineering

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and Mining Journal" concludes that the Public Service Commission has performed a wise but a somewhat tardy action in securing the advice of mining engineers in regard to the further prosecution of the work on the New York City subways.

JERUSALEM, NOT CONSTANTINOPLE

In our issue of October 6 we printed a picture of the wall of an Oriental city with a great crowd outside and entitled it "Constantinople Rejoicing over Turkish Victories or Massacres on the Birthday of the Sultan." Two readers of The Outlook point out that this picture was erroneously titled. Mr. Maynard Owen Williams, for some time connected with the teaching force of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût, writes as follows: "Unless I am very much mistaken, the picture is that of a section of a Nabi Musa procession immediately outside the Bab Sitti Miriam, or the Gate of the Holy Virgin, not in Constantinople but in the city of Jerusalem." He pertinently adds:

> It seems true that the Turks are deliberately exterminating a race, using the most cruel methods in doing it. We cannot defend them in such barbarism, but it also seems true that the Turks are exterminating a race and not a church or a religion. An undue emphasis has been laid in this Christian country upon the fact that the barbarous directors of this horrible massacre are Moslems, and that the pitied dead are Christians. Turkey has done this wrong, not Islam. American Christians should have an understanding charity for other faiths which even such a horrible catastrophe as the present war cannot destroy.

Dr. Malcolm McLean, of New York City, who has spent some time in archæological studies in Jerusalem, has shown us the negative of a photograph of the wall and gateway in question which he himself took. It is St. Stephen's Gate in the east wall of Jerusalem, and is known by the Moslems as Bab Sitti Miriam, or Gate of our Lady Mary. "The name," says Dr. McLean, "doubtless is derived from the fact that it looks out over the reputed tomb of the Virgin in Kedron Valley. Many Moslems—not all, by any means—have claimed that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a sister of Aaron, the brother of Moses. It should be added that many modern commentators deny this interpretation of the Koran."

We are glad to have these corrections. The picture with the title which we used came from a source which we considered reliable. It is not difficult to fall into error in entitling photographs of foreign scenes which pass through many hands before publication.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

The union of the States in a federated nation is not merely a form of government. It is one phase of the fundamental principle of self-government adopted, it may almost be said invented, by our fathers. That principle of self-government may be briefly stated thus:

In a free state each individual is to be left at liberty to regulate all those affairs which concern only himself; each locality—town, county, city, state—is to be left free to regulate those affairs which concern only the locality; the nation is to regulate only those affairs which concern the entire nation.

With the increase of population, the change in its character, and the growing complexity of modern civilization many affairs which were formerly supposed to concern only the individual we now find to be of concern to the community. The liberty of the individual is therefore less than it was a hundred years ago, not because the principle has been changed, but because the conditions have been changed. The increased density of population and the discovery that contagion and infection produce widespread disease have led to the imposition of sanitary regulations upon the individual; the invention of horseless carriages has compelled the regulation of speed upon the highway; the growing conviction that lotteries, gambling-houses, and the unrestricted sale of liquor involve a serious peril to the community as well as to the individual who drinks or gambles has led to the prohibition of lottery and gambling and the regulation or prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors. But the principle that each individual is free to regulate those affairs which concern only himself and each locality is free to regulate those affairs which concern only the locality is embedded, not only in the Constitution, but also in the traditions of the Nation and in the spirit of its people.

Home rule for cities is nothing but an application of this principle made necessary by the enormous growth and the enormous multiplication of cities during the last century.

Experience has demonstrated that it is impossible to define accurately and permanently

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the affairs which concern only the individual, the affairs which concern only the town or the city, and the affairs which concern only the State. The line of definition is necessarily vague and necessarily shifting. The Civil War was fought in this country partly upon this question. It is not, therefore, to be expected that the Constitutional Convention could accurately define the limits within which the people of the city should be permitted to manage the affairs of the city and the people of the county the affairs of the county. All that those who believe in local self-government could ask of such a Convention is that it should so frame the Constitution as to make not only possible, but certain, a considerable enlargement of the powers of the various localities within the State. This the Convention has done.

It provides that every city shall have the exclusive power to manage, regulate, and control its property, affairs, and municipal government, subject to the provisions of this Constitution and of the general laws of the State, of the laws applying to all cities of the State without distinction, and of laws affecting the relations between the city and the county in which the city is situated. And it further provides that at the general election of 1917 every city shall submit to its electors the question, Shall there be a commission to revise the charter of the city? and, if that question is answered in the affirmative, the charter so revised shall be submitted to a popular vote; and if by that vote it is approved it shall then be submitted to the New York Legislature, and if not disapproved by the Legislature shall become the city's charter. The Outlook has long urged that this power to make the charter of a city should be taken from the Legislature and given to the people of the city. The method is that pursued in the Nation. When the people of a Territory desire to become a State, they frame their own Constitution, submit it to Congress, and if the Constitution is approved by Congress it becomes the Constitution of the State, subject to the Constitution of the United States and to the general laws of the United States passed in accordance with that Constitution.

The same principle of home rule or self-government is extended by the Constitution to the counties of the State. On account of the great difference in area, population, and general characteristics of the different counties, different regulations are required by them, and this has led to no end of local laws enacted by the Legislature for the different counties. Under the new Constitution any laws enacted for a county can become effective only when approved by the electors of the county, and applications for such special county legislation, to be acted upon by the Legislature, must be asked by the local governing body of the county.

There are some matters which concern only the city, as, for example, the regulation of its street traffic; some matters which concern the people of the entire State, as, for example, marriage and divorce; and some matters in which city, county, and State have varying degrees of interest. Only time and experiment can determine the question what affairs should be regulated by the locality and what by the State. It appears, however, clear to us that all who believe in local self-government—that is, in democracy—should welcome and vote for a Constitution which, preventing unintelligent interference by the Legislature with the purely local affairs of different localities, leaves them to be determined by the people of the locality, whose interest in them and intelligence concerning them a democratic state must trust.

A Committee has been organized to promote the adoption of the new Constitution, with headquarters at 23 Washington Avenue, Albany. The Secretary is Robert S. Binkerd. It publishes the revised Constitution and some of the important speeches in the Convention, and two pamphlets—one on why the Constitution should be adopted and one answering objections. Write to this Committee if you want further light on the question than The Outlook is giving you.

AN OPEN LETTER

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter telling me of the work of the Ohio Temperance Union, with which you are connected, and which is "promoting a propaganda in favor of genuine temperance against prohibition in Ohio, where the question of State-wide prohibition is at issue." You ask me for a letter which you can use in this campaign. I think I can best answer your request by an open letter, which Ohio papers are welcome to republish, and which will give my opinion to all citizens in Ohio who care to know what it is. To a previous correspondent I have already written

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specifically that I am not in favor of State-wide prohibition, except where a State-wide public sentiment for prohibition already exists. To that public sentiment I address myself in this letter.

In common with most Americans, I have believed in the regulation, not the prohibition, of the liquor traffic. But the action of liquor dealers has made regulation impossible. There have been, and are, some saloons which obey the law, but they are the exception. The great majority covertly disregard or openly defy all attempt in the community to impose special regulations upon them. The law forbids sales to minors; and the saloon not only sells to minors, but not infrequently entices minors to drink, that it may establish in them the habit and develop in them customers. The law forbids sales to habitual drunkards; and the saloon continues to sell to habitual drunkards as long as they or their friends will pay for the drinks. The law forbids sales at certain hours; and the saloon sells at all hours if there are customers to buy. The law forbids sales on Sundays; and the saloon closes the front door and opens the side door. The law forbids sales except with meals; and fake meals are furnished to make the sale legal. The law forbids sales except by hotels; and the saloon adds bedrooms, calls itself a hotel, and becomes a house of prostitution.

This is not true of all saloons. Now and then may be found one, especially in our larger cities, which is what your circular says Dr. Parkhurst has called it: the poor man's club-house, his restaurant, and even his infirmary. But these are the exceptions.

The American people are characteristically conservative and slow in coming to a conclusion. But they are coming to the conclusion, though slowly, that the American saloon is not only a local nuisance but a National calamity and are resolving to abolish it.

The question is not, Is beer a useful article of food?

It is not, Is moderate drinking wrong?

It is not, Does the Bible prohibit or permit moderate drinking?

These questions the people would prefer to leave each individual free to determine for himself.

But they are not willing to leave each individual to determine for himself whether the laws enacted by the community shall be obeyed. That question the community will decide, and it will suffer any inconvenience, any deprivation, which may be necessary to secure such obedience. This is the meaning of the present prohibitory movement.

Your letterhead gives the title of your Society, "The Ohio Temperance Union," and your circular affirms your wish to substitute temperance for prohibition. If twenty-five years ago the brewers, the wine-growers, and the wholesale liquor dealers of the United States had united with other law-abiding citizens to compel the retail dealers to comply with such regulations of the liquor traffic as the State might enact, and to create within the liquor trade such a regard for law and such a spirit of temperance as would banish the spirit of lawlessness, which has made the average saloon not only a local nuisance but also a National calamity, the prohibitory movement never would have attained its present proportions.

But if the people are compelled to choose between an unregulated and lawless liquor traffic and the prohibition of the liquor traffic, I do not doubt that they will choose prohibition. If we cannot reform the saloons, we shall abolish them. And if we can find no other way to abolish them, we shall abolish the distillery, the brewery, the winery, and the importation of liquor from abroad.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

ASSASSINS OF THE BIBLE

Not the skeptics but the literalists are the assassins of the Bible—unconscious assassins.

A literalist who had read Jesus' saying, "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee," went out to the woodshed, cut off his hand, and threw it away. His family had him put in the insane asylum. Why? Because he had not used common sense in the interpretation of the Bible. If all who do not use common sense in the interpretation of the Bible were sent to insane asylums, the capacity of these institutions would be greatly overtaxed.

In the first half of the nineteenth century a literalist by the name of William Miller lectured through New England on the prophecies of the Bible, and by his attempt to give a literal interpretation to its enigmatical symbolism convinced thousands that the world would come to an end in 1843. With a curious inconsistency men sold their farms for money when neither farm nor money could be of any use to either buyer or seller, and some of them prepared ascension robes that they

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might be ready for the coming of the Lord. A similar attempt to give a literal interpretation to Biblical prophecy reappears from time to time in different forms to fascinate some and terrify others. That Jesus said that no man knows, and that he himself did not know, when the end of the world would come, does not in the least modify the dogmatic assurance of these would-be prophets.

Just before his death Jesus joined with his disciples in celebrating the Passover by the accustomed family supper. To the bread and wine, which in the ritual of that day memorialized the emancipation of Israel, he gave a new meaning. This bread, he said, is my body, this wine is my blood. Hereafter in partaking of them remember me. It is unbelievable that the disciples should have at the time given a literal interpretation to these words, and believed that the bread which they were eating and the wine which they were drinking were the body and the blood of the man who sat whole and unwounded at the table with them. But a great section of the Christian Church has believed, and now believes, that in the consecration by the priest the bread and wine become "the body, soul, and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ." The fact that on another occasion Jesus, interpreting this symbol and correcting the misapprehension of the puzzled disciples, said to them, "The flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life," has had no effect to prevent this transformation by the literalists of a spiritual symbol into a material fact.

If the literalist were only a consistent literalist, he would destroy his literalism. But he is not consistent. He tells us that Christians must not acquire wealth because Jesus said, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt." If you reply, No sensible American does put his money in a crock in the ground where the rust corrupts, or into jeweled garments hung up in his home where moth corrupts, he cries out against you, "Special pleading!" But this is not special pleading, it is only consistent literalism. Jesus condemned hoarding; but he did not condemn using or accumulating wealth. On the contrary, he condemned the servant who was afraid to embark in trade and wrapped his single talent in a napkin and hid it. The man who puts his money in a savings bank puts his money at work in the service of his fellowmen. The man who the other day hid his money under the hay in his barn had only his stupid selfishness to thank for his loss when the barn burned down.

A literalist a few months ago wrote an interesting article in one of our magazines in which she claimed that the great cause of the worry and anxiety which poisons American life, robs us of peace, and breaks us down nervously is due to our disobedience of Christ's injunction, "Take . . . no thought for the morrow." If we would take no thought for the morrow, as fast as we make our money would spend it in caring for others, and trust that others would care for us when we could make money no longer, we should lead happy and peaceful lives. If she had been a careful literalist, she would have looked in the Revised Version of the New Testament and would have seen that Jesus never said, Take no thought; he said, Be not anxious. If she had been a still more scrupulous literalist, she would have looked into her Greek Testament and would have seen that what he said was, Be not divided in your mind about the morrow—that is, do not be divided between two inconsistent aims in your life. Give yourself wholly to service and take what is coming to you. And if she had read a little further in the New Testament she would have noticed that Jesus did take thought for the morrow. When he fed the five thousand, "that nothing be lost" he took up twelve basketfuls of the fragments that the careless people had left scattered on the ground.

The literalist by his literalism gives to one text of the Bible an impossible meaning and at the same time takes out of the Bible another or robs it of its meaning altogether. That he may give to the parable of Dives and Lazarus a literal interpretation he conveniently forgets that everywhere else in the teaching of Jesus fire is a symbol, not of torment, but of destruction or purification. That he may torment, if not himself, his neighbor, with the awful doctrine of an eternal torture, he blots out of his Bible its repeated declaration that God's mercy endureth forever. That he may regard the saying, "Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" as a statutory provision to be strictly construed, the literalist forgets or eliminates the saying, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." Or he tells you that the sword is a symbol, but the cheek is not. Why not?

Jesus' sayings are not to be regarded as

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rules for the regulation of conduct to be literally interpreted and strictly observed. He came that we might have life, and might have it more abundantly. He came to inspire us by his personality with the spirit of love and good will and to teach us how that spirit of love and good will can be applied in the various relations of life. His sayings are not statutory regulations but concrete illustrations of fundamental principles. A modern minister would say, If temptation assails you, remember that no price is too great to pay to overcome it. No one would misunderstand and no one would remember. Jesus says, "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee," and the world takes notice. Jesus did not come to think for us and save us the trouble of thinking. He came to provoke us to do our own thinking. This was his habitual method. When a lawyer asked him, What shall I do to inherit eternal life? Jesus answered him, How do you read the law? When the rich young ruler called him "Good Master," Jesus asked him, What do you mean by good Master? and, getting no reply, left him to ponder the question. When he washed their feet and Peter objected, he gave his disciples no explanation, but left them to think over the extraordinary act for themselves.

To treat Jesus' sayings as ethical rules is wholly to misunderstand their purpose and to make of Jesus a second Confucius and transform the Christian religion of a spontaneous life of love and service into a Chinese religion of carefully regulated proprieties. The sayings of Jesus are interpretations of the spirit of life, and he who fails to look through these luminous windows to the spirit within falls into the same mistake as the disciples, who, when their Master warned them against the leaven of the Pharisees, thought it was because they had forgotten to bring bread with them. He who blindly follows the sayings of the Master does not follow them at all. Blindness is no better for the soul than for the body.

"The letter killeth," says Paul. The literalist, by his reverence for the letter, kills the spirit.

THE MORO BOY SCOUTS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

IN its issue for May 5, 1915, The Outlook printed a short article describing the remarkable success which had followed the organization last fall of a troop of Boy Scouts in a Moro village in the vicinity of Zamboanga, Mindanao, by Lieutenant Sherman Kiser, of the United States Philippine Scouts. It told of the marked change which appeared to have taken place in the lives of these Mohammedan lads and in the attitude of the white officials of the district toward them. It demonstrated that the things that appeal to boys of other races also attract them. The "little brown brothers" are just like other boys. It appeared, moreover, that they could be unselfish, kind toward dumb animals, and thoughtful for the interests of the community. That these characteristics could be developed had been unknown before—to the whites, at least.

It still remained a question as to the depth of their attachment to the new kind of life. Lieutenant Kiser had often asked himself whether he had secured a hold upon the lads. Two incidents have occurred since which show the extent of the success of this interest of an American officer in the Moro boys.

The first of these incidents was the formal opening of a small building erected for the troop by an American woman who had learned something of Lieutenant Kiser's work. The house had been provided with tables, chairs, a phonograph with a score of records, checker-boards, a Boy Scout game, a cupboard for the storage of boxing gloves, clothing, etc., a flag-pole and a flag, and a frame containing fifteen photographs, two of which have been reproduced in The Outlook. Among those who attended the opening were Governor Carpenter, the Sultan of Sulu, Colonel Traub of the constabulary, Major Chamberlain of the Philippine Scouts, Judge Herd, many of the military, the school board, and a couple of hundred Moros, "who sat around near and smiled." Following an entertainment furnished by the boys themselves refreshments were served, those assisting with this detail including the wives of several of the American officials on duty at Zamboanga.

"You ought to have seen some of the

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mothers and fathers of the Boy Scouts," Lieutenant Kiser wrote recently. "They were overjoyed to see their gay little sons so honored. I think that little reception did more for the boys than anything else could have done. The people didn't realize until they came down and saw for themselves just what the boys were doing."

Uncle Sam, in ordering his officers about, does not always take into consideration the valuable social work they may be doing, so one day Lieutenant Kiser had to announce to his little Moro followers that he was soon to go away, and perhaps would never come again. His departure was the second incident.

"The boys were terribly hurt," in the language of Lieutenant Kiser, when they found he was going to leave them. Three little fellows came one morning and asked if he wouldn't be able to come back soon, as he had done at Christmas-time. When he told them that perhaps he would never come back, they "lost their speech and sneaked away as if I had done them a terrible wrong."

The display of feeling was of marked significance, because a Moro seldom displays any outward sign of his feelings.

"I had often wondered," wrote Lieutenant Kiser, "if the boys cared much about me when it came to the final test. I sometimes thought they tired of my rules and attempts at discipline and of all I gave them to do. But the last week I was in Petit Barracks I learned to know that a Moro's feelings are deep and true."

The boys would walk by on the street in the rear of his house in the hope of catching a glimpse of him. On the morning of his departure he found the entire troop waiting outside his house when he awoke. When he spoke to them, some turned and began to cry. Later, when the transport was almost ready to cast off the lines, the boys marched to the dock and asked to see Lieutenant Kiser again.

"This time, when I went down to say good-by, *every one* cried. As the boat sailed out to sea those honest little Scouts stood waving a last farewell with tears streaming over their faces. I am sure that every American who stood on the pier lost his heart to the Moro Boy Scouts. I realized as I left them that 'never before in their lives had they had the friendship and felt the kindness of any person,' and that it had changed them from little savages into little men, with a love for one fellow-man at least. If it were possible to make all the Moro boys feel as those boys felt, we could count on having less trouble with the Moros in the future."

Lieutenant McDowell, of the Philippine constabulary, has taken charge of the troop, and Governor Carpenter, Colonel Traub, and Major Waloe have undertaken to do what they can to help and encourage the movement.

H. F. S.

THE NATIONS AT WAR

Two weeks ago we announced that during the second year of the European War we should inaugurate a carefully developed plan of special correspondence containing information coming directly to The Outlook from the belligerent countries. The first installment of this correspondence is here presented.—THE EDITORS.

I—BRITISH AND GERMAN INTERFERENCE WITH AMERICAN TRADE

At an early stage of hostilities the British authorities prohibited the export of wool, rubber, and other contraband raw materials from British territory. Later, in consideration of the needs of American manufacturers, the export to the United States of certain amounts of these materials was permitted under the condition that they were not to be used in the manufacture of goods for the enemy, the American manufacturers to give guarantee to that effect. It is a well-known fact that many American concerns have branches or affiliated companies with manufacturing plants in England, Russia, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. Probably all of these foreign-placed American establishments are manufacturing supplies for the governments of the countries in which they are located. It has remained for Germany, however, to require of American manufacturers that parent concerns in America should not manufacture supplies for the Allies under penalty of destruction or confiscation of the plants owned or operated by American companies in Germany or Aus-

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tria-Hungary. One of the largest industrial concerns in New York was recently required to send affidavits to Berlin in proof that no munitions of war were being manufactured for the Allies to save the very large amount of money the company had invested in Germany in the form of a factory. This information came to light when the company referred to was offered a contract to manufacture certain supplies for the English Government. The company, through its executive officer, replied that the profits would need to be of sufficient magnitude to more than cover the loss of its German plant, for the reason above stated. Such action on the part of Germany goes much further than the restrictions placed by England upon export of raw materials to America, for Germany has been buying a certain percentage of the output of many American concerns which have branches or affiliated manufacturing plants in England and France. If the British Government assumed the same position in this matter as Germany, it would mean the loss of millions of dollars of American investment abroad, and there would be indeed a terrible outcry against British interference with American rights. It is interesting to note that, while we hear a great deal about British interference with American trade, no word of this coercion of American industry by the German Government has apparently reached the public ear. Germany says, in brief, that if any American company owning manufacturing plants in Germany shall manufacture munitions of war in the United States for the Allies they will lose their investment in Germany by confiscation, and that proof of their innocence in this matter must be supported by sworn affidavits. J. D. WHELPLEY.

London, England, September 21.

II—THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE DEMAND A NEW MINISTRY

In times of great national disturbance or peril in Russia the city of Moscow has always played a prominent part and has often been the first municipality in the Empire to express boldly and frankly the thoughts and wishes of the people. In the present period of strain and apprehension it has again assumed leadership by fearlessly demanding a reconstruction of the Ministry and a complete change in the existing methods of administration.

Recent Russian newspapers which have just come to hand contain the news that the City Council of Moscow has adopted unanimously a series of resolutions declaring that the war has entered upon a new phase and has created a state of affairs which involves new problems and demands new measures. In order to deal successfully with these problems and adopt the necessary measures the Government and the people must unite in mutual faith and devotion and make a strenuous effort to organize victory. This, however, cannot be accomplished unless the Government shall be represented by a Ministry in which the people can have faith and by a Premier whom they can implicitly trust.

The Moscow Stock Exchange and the Board of Trade adopted similar resolutions in a still bolder form. This bold action of the citizens of Moscow had an encouraging effect on the rest of the country, for in less than a week the demand for a new Ministry and reformed methods of administration began to come from town councils, zemstvos, conventions, boards of trade, and business organizations in all parts of the Empire. Everywhere the declaration was made that the people were loyal to the Czar, but that they had lost faith in the bureaucracy and could not work harmoniously with the existing Government. They therefore demanded not only a Ministry that they could trust, but a Ministry that should have power to remove or dismiss incompetent bureaucratic officials, regardless of the latter's rank or social position.

Most of these resolutions were sent directly to the Czar, but what effect they had upon him no one knows. Certainly there has been no change in the Ministry since the "shake-up" which resulted in the removal of Sukhomlinof, Shcheglovitof, and Maklakof from the Ministries of War, Justice, and the Interior several months ago.

GEORGE KENNAN.

Baddeck, Nova Scotia,
October 8, 1915.

III—A DUTCH IMPRESSION

Under the direction of a high official of the Dutch Government, we have just completed a tour of the internment camps and the quarters of the Belgian refugees here in Holland.

I find public opinion emphatically neutral in the "Keep-out-of-it" sense. While there are many individuals who are anti-English,

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the mass of the people are openly anti-German.

Business men are neutral!

And they are making money.

Among the officers—and I have been with them constantly this week—there is admiration mingled with fear of the German machine, and a conviction that, if Belgium remains German, Holland's turn will come next.

* * *

Rotterdam, Holland, September, 1915.

NOTE.—We do not give the name of the writer of this letter, lest his further study of the war zones might be abruptly ended.—THE EDITORS.

IV—INCIDENTS OF GERMAN RULE IN BELGIUM

The following correspondence is from a Belgian gentleman who has for many years been engaged in manufacturing enterprises in that country, but who is now in the United States, partly on account of his business interests and partly on account of the education of his children.—THE EDITORS.

American newspapers have said little about the petty social and industrial hardships which necessarily perhaps, but none the less disagreeably, have been imposed upon the Belgian people by German rule. To-day, for example, if a resident of Ghent desires to go by railway to Brussels he must go through such formalities as these:

He has to go to the German commander in Ghent and get a permit for Brussels, for which he has to pay several marks. Without this permit he cannot enter the railway station. At the ticket office he has to show his permit again, and he is then allowed to purchase his ticket for Brussels. On arrival in Brussels he has to show his permit before being allowed to leave the station. Then his next step is to go to the commander in Brussels, show his permit, and state what his business in Brussels is and how long his stay in the city will be. The commander will then assign him to the hotel in which he is to stay during his visit. He may sometimes choose his own hotel; it, however, must be approved by the military authorities. But in most cases the hotel is designated by the German authorities.

No Belgian citizen under fifty years of age is permitted to leave Belgium under any circumstances, the inference being that the German authorities wish to prevent the possibility of any Belgian of fighting age taking his place in the ranks of the Allies. Various stratagems are devised to evade this last ruling. For example, a group of young Belgians of military age got permission of the German authorities to organize a bicycle race from some point in Belgium to Maestricht, which is practically on the Dutch frontier. They obtained this permission on condition that each must carry on his bicycle a small German flag. The race was held; but, instead of stopping at the finish line, all the contestants kept on at full speed over the boundary into Holland, and, as they had the German flag on their bicycles, they were not arrested by the sentries, and thus escaped.

I am sometimes asked as to the conditions of my own business and of my family connections in Belgium. I do not know myself. I have not heard from my office for some time. The only way in which I could receive communications would be by the smuggling of letters out of Belgium over the Dutch frontier. Only recently three men were shot who were caught by the Germans in this kind of letter smuggling. Until recently I was able to send letters by posting them to a given address in Holland, from which place, for a fixed fee, they were smuggled by personal couriers over the boundary and delivered to the person addressed. But the rigor of German supervision has at last stopped even this means of communication.

The following incident throws some light on German efficiency and skill in managing the publicity side of their administration in Belgium. Not long ago the German administration brought a fine military band and a large company of soldiers to the Place Rouppe in Brussels. There are now, of course, a very large number of German residents in Brussels, and the ladies belonging to these families were all invited to come and listen to the band. The Belgian citizens were allowed to come. They put a cordon of soldiers around the Place, with placards forbidding any Belgian to come nearer than the cordon. At a certain time the band started to play dances, and all the German soldiers engaged the ladies to dance with them. During this performance some moving pictures were taken. These were sent to Berlin afterwards to show the joy and gayety of the Belgians and to let the German public know how cordially the Belgian public has received the Germans!

On the Belgian national holiday, July 21,

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the German General von Bissing ordered that no Belgian emblems be worn and no Belgian flags be displayed in the town. The Belgian men agreed among themselves to wear full evening dress the whole day. It was an odd sight to see Belgian citizens going about their ordinary business in dress coats and top hats, but it marked the day effectually, much to the chagrin of the German authorities, who nevertheless could do nothing about it. On that day all the gayety and celebrations at the restaurants had to stop at eight o'clock by military orders. The citizens went home at that time, but at five minutes past twelve, as it was not then the national holiday, they all came back and continued their celebration. Three Belgian women, one dressed in yellow, one in black, and one in red, which form the Belgian national colors, walked abreast down the street. For this they were arrested.

An amusing incident happened in the Quartier des Marolliens, or that part of the city where the street hawkers of vegetables and fruit and other peddlers live. There was so much disturbance among these gentry that the German authorities placed at each end of the chief street in this quarter two cannon to intimidate the inhabitants. Whereupon from every window in the street a few hours after was thrust a stovepipe. This joke at the expense of German dignity created such an uproar that soldiers were immediately sent to remove the imitations of artillery.

In the city of Ghent a Belgian woman kept a tobacco shop which was frequented by the German soldiers, among others a corporal who each day purchased a package of cigarettes. One day he ordered ten packages, whereupon the shopkeeper asked him why he took such a large supply. "We are going to Dixmude," was the reply. "Oh, yes," said the shopkeeper, "that is on the River Yser." "No," said the corporal, "it is Dixmude." "Well, Dixmude is on the Yser," insisted the shopkeeper. The corporal kept on denying it, and left the shop. Two days afterwards the shopkeeper was summoned to the German commander and was fined forty marks in gold for having given information to a soldier because, as she discovered later, the reverses at the River Yser had so terrified ordinary German soldiers that the German officers were trying to conceal from them the fact that when they were ordered to Dixmude they were going to the Yser.

Incidents of this kind help to keep up the spirits of the citizens of Brussels, who can hardly be blamed for hailing with delight every manifestation of what they regard as at least a lack of nimble wit on the part of the German invaders. P. P. F.

October 7.

V—BENEATH THE BALKAN OUTBURST

Bouck White is a well-known American Socialist. He has just returned from a tour in Turkey and the Balkan Peninsula, whither he went as war correspondent for the Associated Sunday Magazines. He also visited the central Powers, as well as England, France, and Italy. Being a late comer from the Levant, he brings fresh tidings of a situation that needs to be reobserved and readjudged almost hourly, so swiftly does the kaleidoscope there fall into new and surprising patterns.—THE EDITORS.

The gravitation of Bulgaria over onto the German side has struck something of gloom into sympathizers with the Entente. London's "Daily Mail" sheds tears over the "diplomatic defeat." And Clemenceau, of Paris, savagely derides the "dazed clumsiness" of the Quai Dorsay which has crowned its career of "a rare accumulation of errors." My tour of observation tells me that the blow to the Entente Powers is far less grave than would appear from a surface reading of the facts; yes, even more, that the Bulgarian move may turn out a very boomerang for the side to which she has flopped, and may have an important repercussion on internal events in Turkey, notably the Armenian horrors.

England needs a new gateway into Constantinople; and, if Armenia is to be saved, needs it quickly.

The Dardanelles gate is impossible as to any speedy forcing of it. The Gallipoli peninsula is one tangle of barbed wire, one maze of interlocking trenches, while the waterway is fringed with cannon and torpedo tubes that sentinel the straits at every point. If England is to get to the Bosphorus in time to exert any saving help on Armenia, she must find another route. Where can she seek it?

Besides Gallipoli, three other landing-places are thinkable: the Turkish coast to the south, in the general neighborhood of Smyrna; the Gulf of Saros, on the other side;

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and Salonika. The first is, at this season of the year, full of hazard. On all the coast of Turkey west of the Marmora Sea there is no natural harbor. French commercial enterprise has built breakwaters here and there. But the storm season for the eastern Mediterranean is approaching. What artificial ports are available could not be depended upon. A tempest might duplicate in our era the Spanish Armada's disaster of three centuries ago. The Gulf of Saros is for the same reason impracticable. It is from the southwest that the destructive storms roll, on which occasions Saros is a bellowing hell. Westward from Saros no port is found on all the Bulgarian littoral. Dedeagatch is the nearest to such a thing, and I explored it in a sailboat. That port is quite nothing but a stone bulkhead slanting out from a straight shore. Salonika is, after Gallipoli, the one practicable gateway into Constantinople. It is a harbor of spacious dimensions.

But Salonika is Greek territory. And until Greece became implicated in the war the Allies could not consistently make use of her soil. The march of Bulgaria against Servia changed that situation, and has given to the Allies the excuse they needed for a Salonika landing. Greece is under treaty obligations to defend Servia if attacked by Bulgaria. The Allies, therefore, by landing troops to protect the Servian frontier below Nish are assisting Greece to fulfill her treaty contract. The presence of Venizelos in the Premiership gave the official sanction. And the landing became a *fait accompli* which no Cabinet reversal at Athens now can change.

The Salonika landing, however, is not at the mercy of Athenian Cabinets. King Constantine is avowedly pro-German, and, if he could, would give to his treaty with Servia the respect that attaches to all "scraps of paper." But he is helpless—and by a compulsion stronger than that of an army with banners. Greece is in the power of the British fleet for her food supply. Greece is rich in mountains and poor in wheat-fields. Her grain and a large portion of her other foods come from abroad. The British navy could starve her in about a fortnight. And Constantine knows it. Indeed, he and his were made to feel it this summer in most impressive fashion. I was at Salonika in the latter part of August. The city was in semi-panic. It had on hand a bread supply for two days only. England, on a pretext, had ordered the holding up of wheat transports. It was at the moment when the then new Cabinet was coming in, and had a diplomatic intent.

If King Constantine should persist in his pro-Germanism, he is likely to have on his hands a popular revolt of some dimensions. For the British Admiralty will most certainly blockade her. And what king can stand out when his people are crying for bread? Greece has a navy. But it was intended for use against Turkey, not against England. At Pirea this summer I noted the size of her fleet. There in the harbor of Athens, with the Parthenon's hill for a background, rode her navy. There were nearly seven ships in all, most of them the size of a modern destroyer; and two were discards from the American navy. It is a safe hazard that Greece will enter the war on the side of the Allies whenever England gives the word. And should Constantine try to prevent it, it will be so much the worse for Constantine.

Will the Entente battalions get onto the Thracian Plain? No mortal is wise enough to say. Too vast is the arena, too intricate the forces at play, for any predicter to go beyond general tendencies to forecast the to-morrow in detail. One can only say, There are certain facts that are trending towards an affirmative answer to our question.

In the first place, I do not foresee for Germany an easy sweep down through Servia. When I was in Salonika six weeks ago, that port was athrob with activity—the disembarking of war material and its reshipment to Nish and the Servian front. For a year that has been going on. Servia has mountain ranges that will oppose a stern wall against the Teuton advance. And if the expeditionary force now landed shall defend the Salonika-Nish Railway from interception, supplies will flow north to her in abounding measure. This German swing southwards, furthermore, comes at an opportune moment for Russia, since it relieves the pressure on her Poland front and will release not a few of her troops for an invasion of the Plain of Thrace by way of the Black Sea, where the Russian navy is completely in control. It is easily possible that Russia will be on the Thracian Plain before the Germans arrive there.

In the second place, Bulgaria will not put into this present war the unanimity that made her so mighty in her drive against Turkey four years ago. Bulgaria is Slav. In this war she will be fighting a Slav Power, Russia; a Power, furthermore, to which Bulgaria owed

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her origin as a nation less than fifty years past. I do not wish to overpress this point. In opposition to this blood kinship with Russia must be set economic alliance with Germany. I asked a business man in Bulgaria what percentage of Bulgaria's entire commerce was in German hands. He answered, "About eighty per cent." While England has been cultivating the far ends of the earth Germany's economic expansion has been annexing the territories contiguous to her in Europe. And now, in her diplomatic triumph at Sofia, she is reaping a legitimate harvest. Trade follows the flag; but also, in the contrary direction, the flag follows trade. Indubitably, Bulgaria's present solidarity with the central Powers is popular with the majority of her people. But not with all. And there is going to be—yes, is already—a party of the opposition that will seriously clog her military ongoings.

A third fact is that Bulgaria is not in shape for war, as she was four years ago. She has not recuperated from her frightful losses in that tandem conflict. Said one Bulgarian to me: "Scarce a family in all our boundaries but has a death or a cripple wherewith to remember the war price we paid." And her financial status is even more desperate. At Sofia I met a Bulgarian merchant who has official connections with the Government as well as international trade relations. Knowing that I was an American, he approached me in the matter of the possibility of a Bulgarian loan in America. He informed me that his country would give well-nigh any price for such help; and offered to make it financially profitable for me if I could open the way to such negotiations. Neither in men nor in money is Bulgaria what she was when she surprised the world by her swift triumph over Turkey's troops from Philippopolis to the very walls of Constantinople.

Rumania is likewise a factor with which Bulgaria will have to reckon. Rumania will not take arms until she sees which way the cat is going to jump; for her geography is such that she could be suffocated in case of a Russian or Servian collapse. None the less, her attitude towards the central empires and Bulgaria is one of unfriendliest neutrality. I journeyed one day from Bucharest over into Hungary. On the train were Rumanians bound for Hungary for business purposes, with one of whom I got into confidential intimacy. At the Hungarian frontier, as we were going through the mill of military and custom-house examinations, suddenly my friend came to me with excitement in his tones. He said that a message had just arrived from the Government at Bucharest forbidding any citizen of Rumania to pass into Austria-Hungary. I asked him why. He was as much in ignorance of the cause as myself. The last I saw of him, as our train moved over the border into Hungary, he and twenty other Rumanians were herded in a squad on the station platform, and were prevented from stirring by a Rumanian sentinel who held them at the point of the bayonet. I asked a German officer who was with me on the train what was the meaning of it. He replied that war between Berlin and Bucharest was inevitable. "But," said I, "Rumania hasn't declared war on you, and may persist in her neutrality." "That isn't the point," said he; "we will do the declaring of war. We need a path across Rumania in order to reach Turkey. And we will pass through or break through." Whatever Rumania decides, she will, in any case, be a menace to Bulgaria, compelling the latter to detach large forces to guard the Danube frontier.

Ten days ago the ship I was to take from England for New York was commandeered, as we were about to go aboard, for the transport of British troops to the Mediterranean. It left us stranded at Liverpool. We had no recourse. Civilians in war time are of small account. And in this case the military urgency was easily understandable. At present the landing of troops at Salonika has for its purpose the defending of Greek treaty obligations in protecting Servia against Bulgaria's threat. But I predict that the expeditionary force of France and England, with an expedition from Russia on the east, will not stop there. Bulgaria and the Thracian Plain could easily become the side door into Constantinople. Now that the front door at the Dardanelles is so stoutly barricaded, a side-door entrance may prove for England the boon she has been in search of. Certainly the war in the Near East has entered upon a new phase. And it is credible that this new phase may give to the Allies an access to the Marmora Sea and the Bosphorus which until now has been denied them. Such a consummation, whatever may be our attitude on the world war as a whole, is devoutly to be desired. For from no other quarter of the heaven breaks there any light for Armenia, stricken unto death.

New York, October 11, 1915. BOUCK WHITE.

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

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LORD AND LADY ABERDEEN IN AMERICA

Lord Aberdeen, lately Viceroy of Ireland and formerly Governor-General of Canada, was raised to the rank of Marquis last January. With Lady Aberdeen (now Marchioness), who is President of the International Council of Women, he will attend the annual meeting of the National Council of Women in Toronto. They will afterwards speak in several cities of the United States

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THE NEW NAVAL ADVISORY BOARD

Standing in the front row (left to right) are Hudson Maxim (with the full beard); Thomas A. Edison (with his hand in his pocket); Secretary Daniels (with his hat in his hand); next to him Peter Cooper Hewitt; and on the extreme right Benjamin G. Lamme. The photograph was taken on the steps of the Navy Department building while the Board were on their way to the White House to call on the President

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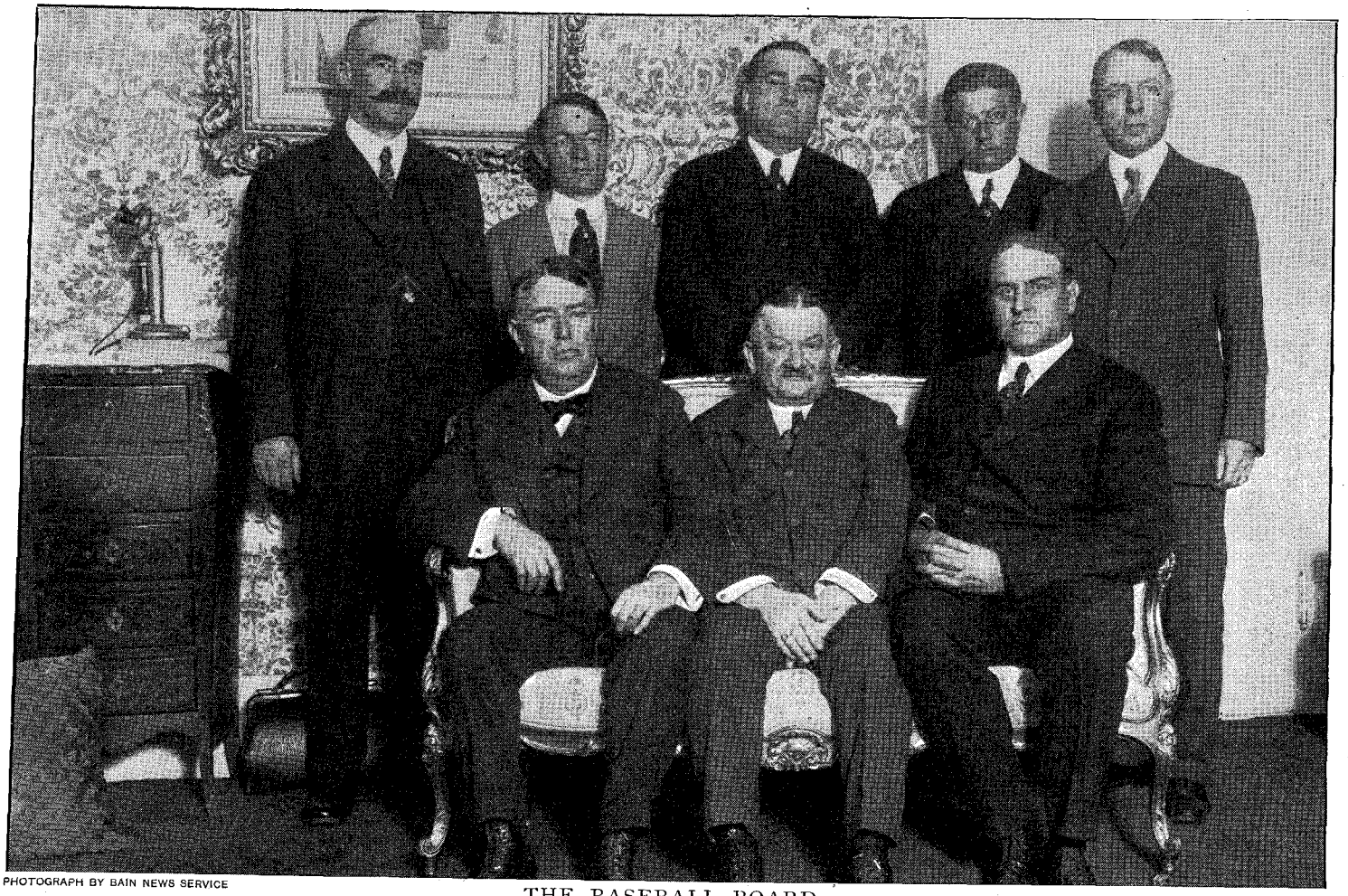

PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

THE BASEBALL BOARD

The picture on the preceding page shows a group of representative American inventors, engineers, and practical men of affairs. The photograph of the Baseball Commission presents an interesting study of some of the men who control the most popular outdoor amusement of the United States. Standing, left to right, are J. J. Lannin, President of the *Boston* "Red Sox" team; R. B. McRoy, in charge of the sale of tickets for the "World's Series;" E. G. Barrows, President of the International League; John Heydler, Secretary of the National League; William F. Baker, President of the Philadelphia National League Club. Sitting, "Ban" Johnson, President of the American League; "Garry" Herrmann, President of the Commission; ex-Governor Tener, of Pennsylvania, President of the National League

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A COPYRIGHT PHOTOGRAPH BY ARNOLD GENTHE, FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE COMING MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE

A striking portrait of Mrs. Norman Galt. By an interesting coincidence the President's engagement to Mrs. Galt and his support of Woman Suffrage were officially announced in the same week

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A RUSSIAN PRINCESS

On November 5 the beautiful Grand Duchess Olga, whose portrait is presented above, will enter upon her twenty-first year. She is the oldest daughter of the Czar, and is now, with her mother and sisters, actively engaged in Red Cross work

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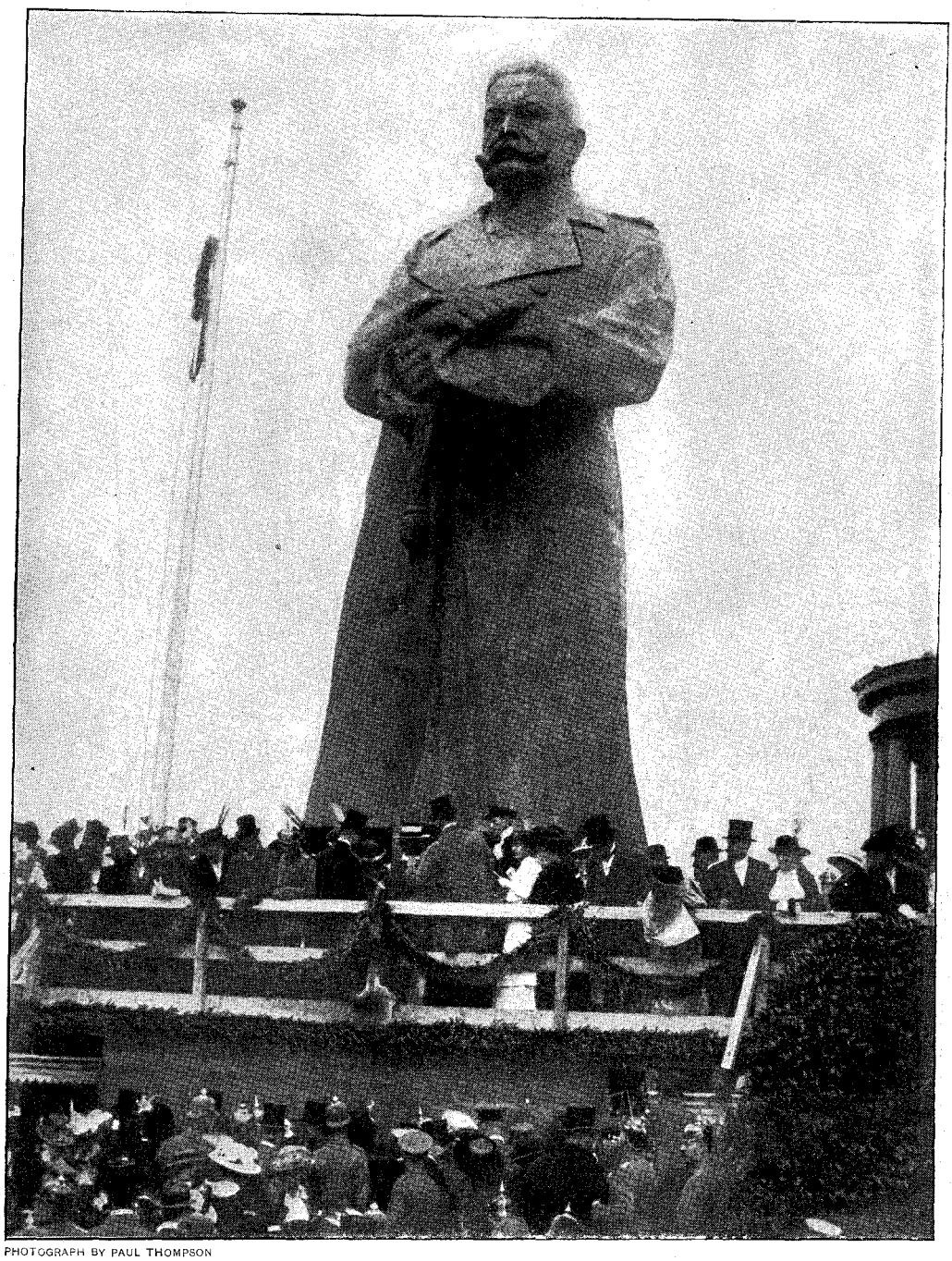

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

ART CREATED BY THE WAR

The gigantic statue of General von Hindenburg pictured above was recently unveiled at Berlin

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ART SACRIFICED BY THE WAR

This statue of Dante at Trent has, it is reported, been melted up by the Austrians for gun metal

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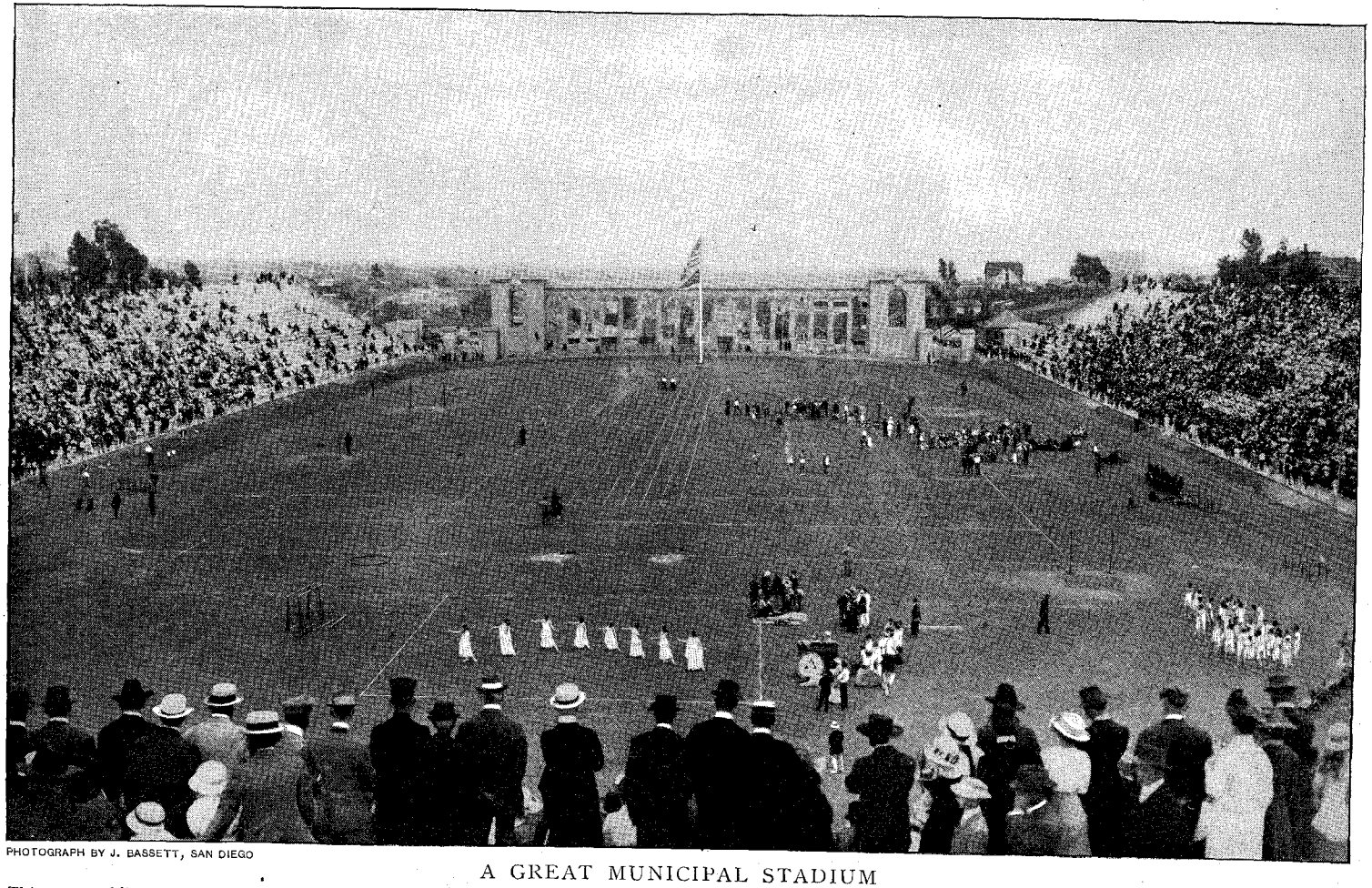

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. BASSETT, SAN DIEGO

A GREAT MUNICIPAL STADIUM

This great public arena for sports and shows was erected by the city of San Diego, California, at a cost of $125,000. It seats 30,000 people, is built of concrete, and its athletic field is 621 feet long and 287 feet wide. The natural advantages of a canyon were utilized in building it. As the top of the stadium is on a level with the surrounding territory, access is easily obtained to the seats without climbing. Beyond the seats is parking space for hundreds of automobiles, the occupants of which have a fine view of the arena without alighting from their cars

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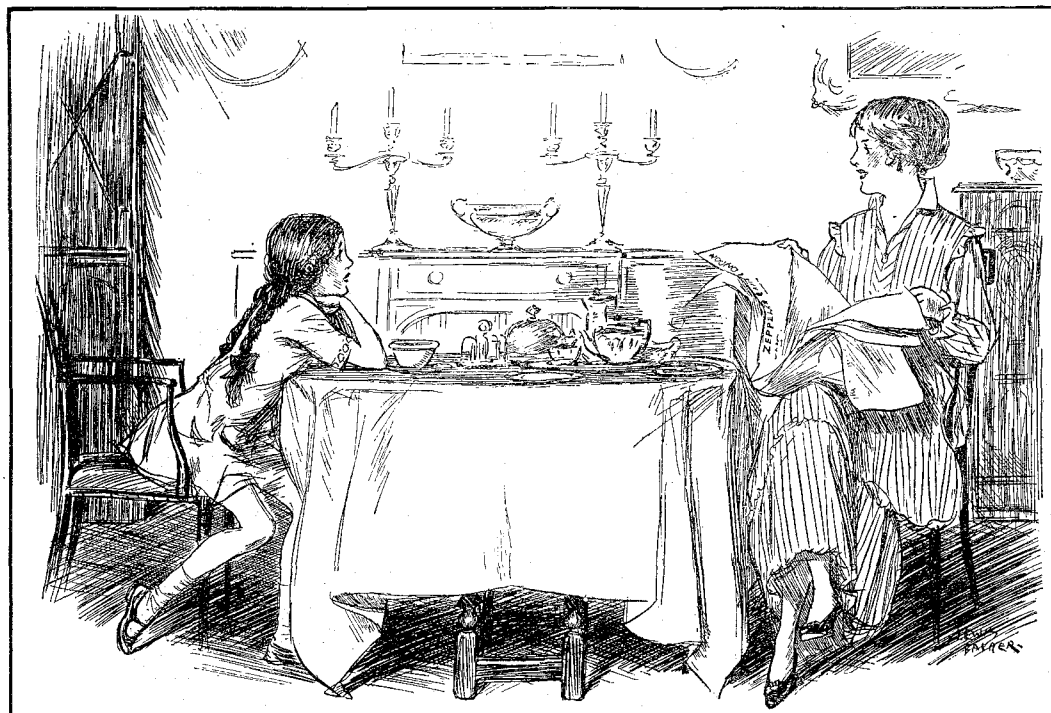
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

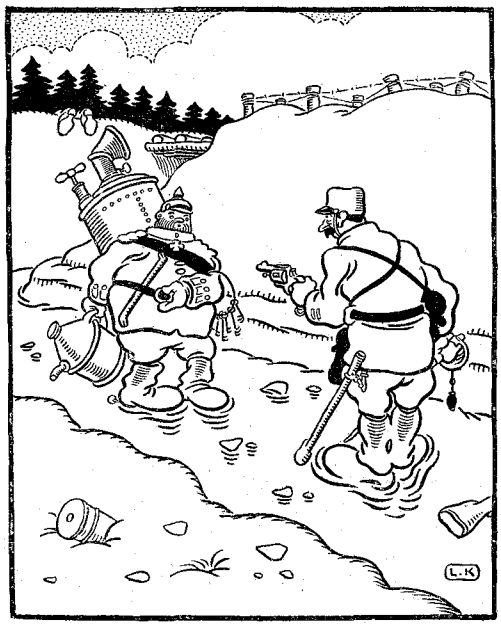
From Punch (London)



"Oh, mother, I *do* think it unfair about the Zellepin! Everybody saw it but me. *Why* didn't you wake me?"
"Never mind, darling, you shall see it next time—if you're good."

THE UNTERRIFIED BRITISH

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)



"You are my prisoner, Captain! Give me your sword."
"Listen! I have no sword, but I can give you my can of petroleum, my wire-cutters, or my gas-tank!"

EACH TO HIS TASTE AS TO WEAPONS!

From the New York Evening Sun

TWO INTERESTING ANNOUNCEMENTS

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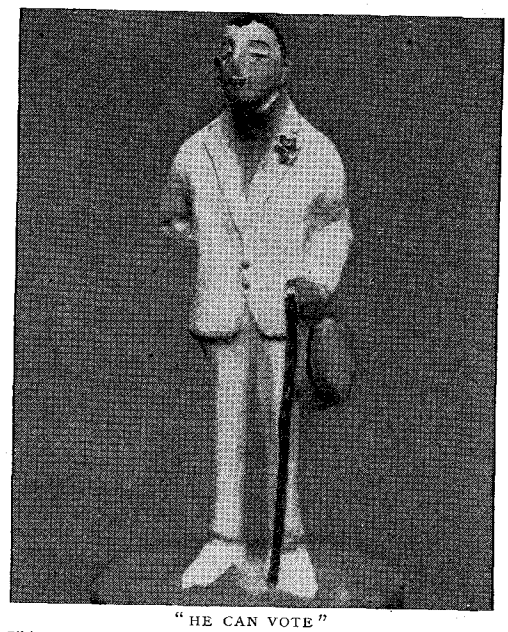
From the Philadelphia North American

"WILLIAM, THEE NEEDS A NEW COAT THIS FALL"

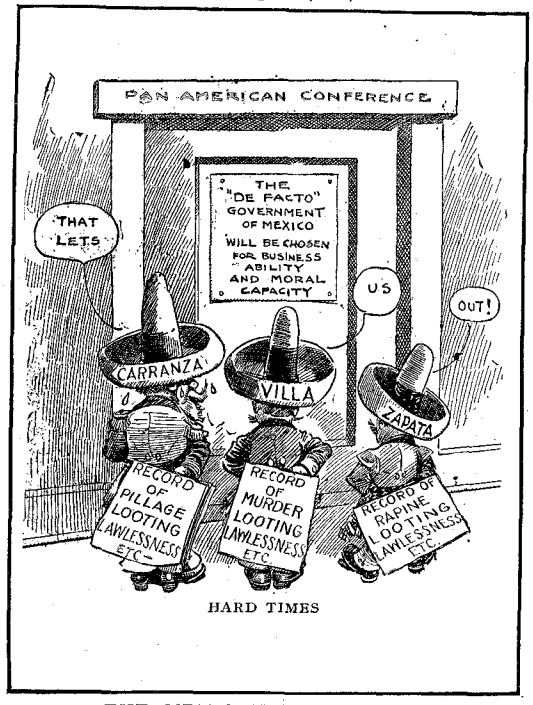


"HE CAN VOTE"

This statue by Helena S. Dayton was a satirical contribution to an exhibition of sculpture by women artists in New York for the benefit of the suffrage campaign

HELPING THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK

From the Los Angeles (Cal.) Tribune



HARD TIMES

THE MEXICAN CONUNDRUM

From the Philadelphia Public Ledger

"LET GO, THERE! YOU'RE TAKING IT ALL!"

AN INTERNATIONAL TUG OF WAR

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THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

THIRD ARTICLE

RESTRICTED INTERVENTION—THE TRUE SOLUTION

BY EDWARD I. BELL

THE form in which common sense may be applied to the solution of our Mexican riddle is disclosed as we consider diligently the means by which effective relief may be carried to Mexico's starving people. Our hearts must spur us to action in this matter, but our brains must act with our hearts. Our need is to solve the entire problem with the smallest possible occupation of Mexico's territory by our armed forces, with no departure from the principle of leaving as far as possible the governing of Mexico to its own people, and with the practical straightforwardness of our design stamped indelibly upon our movements.

It is a large commission. We should have no commerce with the men who have tricked us, who have sacrificed their country and their people to vanity and lust. The peace we deal in must be of high, enduring quality. The comfort we dispense must come from our own abundance. The government which shall be established should not be nominated or dictated to by us. It should be a government of the Mexican people. They should establish it themselves on their own land and in their own capital. It should be a government, not of Mexico's criminals, but of Mexico's intelligent men, the backbone of the nation. It should be set up with little bickering. It should be a government commanding the respect of the world. It should be the best that Mexico could produce under conditions of perfect order throughout its length and breadth unhampered by "cientifico" trades and sectarian intrigue.

We should enter upon this work alone, but with the approval of all leading Powers. We should protect its execution from scandal and our own high purpose from political treachery. The undertaking stands isolated above all others in importance and should command the best brains of our Nation. We should thus transform a reproach into an enduring monument bearing good testimony of us to all nations. Thus should we define in works our declaration of intent to serve mankind.

The obstacles which beset an undertaking so ambitious as this are as plain to the writer as they can be to those who scoff and say it cannot be done. I make no apology for that which may seem to smack of idealistic soaring. If the goal appears to be set above the cloud line, it is not impossible that the Hill of Difficulty we have to climb may bring us nearer to it than now we think.

The people of Mexico may be grouped about as follows:

Lower classes, mostly Indians, well intentioned, non-combatants	12,000,000
Educated and partly educated persons, well intentioned, non-combatants	2,000,000
Under arms, preying upon the country	150,000
Sympathizers with and beneficiaries of the fighting factions	250,000
Refugees in United States, Cuba, and Europe, the intelligence and backbone of the nation, including its native property-owners	600,000
Estimated total	15,000,000

Despotic power over 13,000,000 of the 14,000,000 well-intentioned persons is held by the chiefs and their aides who command the 150,000 armed men. The 1,000,000 persons who are free of this dominance are the inhabitants of a single State, which has preserved its governmental integrity.

It has been our National theory and belief that the men in arms represented the 12,000,000 of the lower classes, the majority of the people. Our support of the fighting faction leaders has been due to this belief, added to the further belief that the 12,000,000 were being oppressed and held in ignorance and poverty by the intelligent and wealthy men of their country. For some time it has been clear that the leaders of the armed forces were in no sense representative of the 12,000,000, but were inflicting upon them unthinkable brutalities of which outright murder was among the most merciful.

We now understand quite well that the 12,000,000 unlettered persons are as children, wholly incapable as yet of exercising a voice in their government. They have been used by designing men as bait to catch our favor, and the designs and acts of these men have been wholly evil. Thirty months of

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doleful experience has proved that Mexico must be ruled by its intelligence, and not by its crime or its ignorance. A return to a so-called benevolent despotism similar to that of Porfirio Diaz is not the end to be desired by any means. As the machinery of government in the country is utterly shattered, a new order of things, possessing all the merits of a genuinely developing democracy, may be established.

In order that the intelligent men of Mexico may be in position to take the initial steps in this work it is necessary that they be afforded an opportunity to return to their country in safety. The road to Mexico's capital must be opened and the capital itself made a rallying-ground to which the well-intentioned may come to join in forming the new Administration of the Mexican Republic. This must be accomplished by our military forces. We must reoccupy the port of Vera Cruz, possess and police the Mexican Railway for the 260 miles of its length from the port to the capital, and deliver sufficient of our troops in the capital itself to hold it securely. As a precautionary measure to prevent wanton destruction of a world asset, the oil ports of Tampico and Tuxpam must be taken and held until relieved by the forces of the new government.

A total of 24,000 men will be required for these active operations, normal reserves being carried on our naval vessels blockading Mexico on both coasts. Our forces along the Texas and Arizona borders must be strengthened in advance of this movement. Above the normal border patrol not less than 30,000 men—if possible, 50,000—should be in reserve there as partial insurance against overt acts in the northern Mexican States affecting our people and their properties, and to draw upon in any sharp contingency arising before the forces of the new government have secured control of these sections distant from their central base.

Our relief supply and hospital service must follow close on the heels of our troops and must be planned on a large scale. The most effective agency in the quick pacification of Mexico is food. Abundance of it must be at the disposal of the new government and our relief corps. Two million bushels of corn are of greater practical value than all the arms and ammunition in our arsenals. Let the standard of Mexico's new government bear the promise of plenty, let its grain bins be full to overflowing, and the hungry will not ask its politics. Provide that government with a rallying place, secure from danger, and the answer to our Mexican problem is in sight.

There is a grapevine service of communication among Mexico's Indians. The news of a food supply, of a new and responsible central government, of safety from the deadly dangers that lurk about, will travel this route with incredible swiftness. It will penetrate the ranks of all armed factions. Under the influence of its magic the forces that so long have ravaged their country will melt away. The men who now compose them, many of whom have been forced into enlistment by starvation or at the bayonet's end, will desert the armies of plunder and destruction now that the profits of piracy are diminished to the vanishing point. They will do this as rapidly as the area in control of the new government enlarges to take them in. They will bring their arms with them prepared to be "good Indians" thenceforth. The influx of volunteer adherents of the government of plenty will outstrip the most vigorous efforts to provide organization. The rallying cry will be no longer, Viva Carranza! Villa! Obregon! It will be, Viva Mexico!

The landing of our troops at Vera Cruz and their progress to Mexico City will not be accomplished without bloodshed. We must expect a death toll in our ranks. We shall encounter a sharp resistance from the Carranzista armies as we advance. We must expect the great Metlac bridge on this line of railway to be blown up. We must look for the dynamiting of the many tunnels in the mountains through and over which this railway climbs the grades to the two-mile altitude, from which it descends three thousand feet to the capital's level in the bowl of the prehistoric crater which is the Valley of Mexico. We must look for every trick which the devil's ingenuity of the Indio-Latin brain can contrive and its savage cruelty execute. Sniping, dynamiting, mountain ambushing—all the features of sanguinary combat with wily and experienced foes in a mountainous country—must be reckoned as among the hazards of this serious business.

More than likely much of the advance must be made on foot. It is the route so traveled by General Scott in 1847, with small loss, and, it is said, in eighteen days. Conditions are different now, however. A great horde of desperate men who will be assured by their leaders that the Americans have

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come to kill them all will block our advance by every force and every device at their command. The armies of Obregon, the renegade Sonora ranchman; of Pablo Gonzales, the miller of Coahuila; of Murguia, the wrecker of the State of Puebla—these and all other Carranzista bands will be concentrated about the course we must take. They will be well armed. Their guns and their cartridges and their dynamite are of excellent quality. These articles are the products of our own factories, upon which we have made a profit. We sold them in exchange for the foodstuffs and the cattle and the henequen which they wrested from their helpless countrymen and shipped to us.

Our military strategists no doubt will overcome many of the obstacles and avoid many of the hazards which seem to crop from the surface. Even in their early plans for weakening the enemy abundant food for all who desert him may figure. By diligent and systematic diffusion of such an offer from Mexican sources, this slogan of a "full dinner-pail" may begin to bring responsive echo from the hour we find ourselves in possession of Vera Cruz.

The way to Mexico's capital being opened and our relief work systematically begun, Mexico's representative men in exile here and in Cuba and in Europe will return to organize their government. Their reputation for unity of action is not good, but there is more slander in this than truth. It is not the really representative men who cannot act unitedly, but the men who have been making the name of Mexico odious for the past five years. There was unity for a quarter-century under Diaz—too much unity for Mexico's good. Whether there will be unity now depends on us, and we must not fail them. We would not expect our own solid men of brains and standing and property to consort amiably with our arch-criminals. We shall not expect a similarly impossible thing to be done in Mexico. An attempt to saddle upon the new government any recognition whatever of the present faction leaders or any one of them would be to defeat our own great aims.

The presence of our forces in the interior of Mexico will not be greatly resented except by the bandit element—the one per cent who now hold the country in terrorized starvation. We may disregard the elaborate warnings of a Mexico united against us. These have emanated from men who desire their country to remain helpless in their plundering hands.

It is hard for an educated Mexican to admit that his nation cannot rise from its degradation without our help, but in his heart he knows this to be so. He may argue against it volubly, but once the order for the advance of our forces goes forth under the right conditions he will cease to protest against it. He will, in fact, be deeply grateful that a definite movement toward betterment has begun and is in competent hands.

No opposition need be expected from the great body of starving and wretched noncombatants. They have never been concerned about the politics of their country, and they know now that their real enemies are the men who under false pretense of enriching them disturbed their peaceful lives and overwhelmed them with unspeakable brutalities. Whoever supplies food to them, furnishes employment, and pays them wages will receive their vote. If the Americans bring such conditions about, they will be welcomed with open arms. If the heart wail of the poor of Mexico could be heard above the specious arguments of their oppressors and the rattle of war, it would combine in one piteous symphony of appeal for the Americans to save them from the wretchedness that has come upon them.

The Mexicans, in their own capital, will elect their President. We should not nominate him. We should have no man in mind for the position. Only the representative men of Mexico are qualified to make the selection. They know their own people; we know their reputations only. We should indicate the kind of man we will recognize. The man they will name for this office should be cut as close to our pattern as the cloth will permit. Operation without our recognition worked badly in the case of Huerta; it should not be attempted again.

The new President also must be acceptable to our financiers from whom the great sums of money for Mexico's rehabilitation must come. These practical men can be depended upon for the exercise of just judgment and for businesslike arrangements to prevent excess. It is the best safeguard that could be raised about the new governmental structure. We have no love for our financiers, but the close relations they must bear to the future government of Mexico will be a guarantee of its permanent success.

The new Mexican government can depend

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on much support besides the miscellaneous non-combatants who will enlist under its standard and the deserters from the present armed forces. Oaxaca in the southwest, Jalisco in the center, Chiapas and Tabasco in the "hot country" below the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and Campeche and Yucatan in the Peninsula—all these States will hail a rational central government with enthusiasm and give it their aid.

Oaxaca stands in a unique position in Mexico. Its people have held rigidly aloof from participation in the events which have laid waste all other States in what once was the Mexican Union. They have repelled the Carranzista armies sent to subjugate them and have driven them beyond their borders. No fiat currency of any of the factions has been tolerated in this State. Only legitimate currency and coin of Mexico's solvent days have been current there. Recently the Governor of Oaxaca issued a proclamation declaring that until a responsible government of honest men was set up in Mexico City the Oaxaquenos would do business on their own account. They manage this very well through their Pacific coast port.

They have a well-equipped army of ten thousand hard-fighting Indians in this State. It is not especially well drilled, because the Indians who compose it are not in constant mobilization; they are at the various occupations which have made Oaxaca the second in production of all the Mexican States. More than a million people live within its boundaries. Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz were born there. The Oaxaquenos are a sturdy people and very proud of their invincible solidarity. They will undoubtedly join the movement for a government of intelligence at Mexico's capital.

The State of Jalisco, the most populous and most productive in all Mexico, will not lag behind Oaxaca. It is in the hands of the enemy now, as its central location has left it open to attacks which could not be repelled. The people of Jalisco will be found among those who will welcome responsible government the most heartily. They have been sore beset, and their beautiful land has been the scene of endless vandalism and bloodshed. Tabasco and Chiapas are of less importance, but they are now in active revolt against Carranza. Yucatan and Campeche are held by Carranza by force of arms. More than three million people—one-fifth of Mexico's total—reside in the States which may be depended upon to applaud a fair government plan and render it efficient aid.

Our National representation in the new Mexican Republic, except for consulates, should be confined to the military. Our chief diplomatic office there should be filled by a general of our army with West Point training. Thus we should secure for this most important post an able man of unimpeachable integrity and sound logic, and should avoid the suspicion of political bias in any of our movements.

Our Ambassador to Mexico is *ex officio* dean, or ranking official, of the diplomatic corps, a position of great local prestige under normal conditions; in the new circumstances it becomes one of international significance. He is the chief figure in a circle of influence which reaches from Mexico's capital to all the principal nations of the world, for all are represented in this ancient city. With a good selection from among our generals at this point of contact, where much that might embarrass the new government may be deflected by judgment and tact and incorruptible firmness, we should quite unobtrusively and very efficiently assist the new Mexican State Department. Also we shall have what previously we have been denied, an ambassador commanding the respect and confidence of all within his sphere of influence. All our efforts to advance the work of rebuilding the Mexican nation may easily be set at naught by sending to it, as formerly, a shelf-worn political hack or a tobacco-chewing plainsman as our chief resident envoy.

The vast accumulation of claims of our citizens which will be urged upon the new government for payment is another and most vital reason for placing in our embassy a man of sterling worth and tireless capacity for details. Sifting wheat from chaff as these claims are put through the winnowing process will doubtless be the work of one or more commissions appointed for the purpose and overlooked by the financial agents of the new government. But the special pleading at our embassy for precedence and undue pressure, even now, no doubt, in contemplation by some of our thousands of losers, must be made to a man of firm purpose.

Our occupation of Mexico's capital should not be for long. With a full reorganization of the Federal army on an effective and comprehensive basis, working harmoniously with the *corps rural*, the system of protection for plantations, ranches, and *haciendas* soon

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should be fairly complete, and the resumption of agricultural work and cattle-raising be under way. We should vacate Mexico as quickly as the new government has its governing affairs well in hand.

Let me not be thought to minimize the prodigious task of reconstruction which awaits the new government. The proportions of this undertaking are staggering to the mind. There is a complete new structure to be built in all departments, and little besides the rawest of materials to be drawn upon. The postal system, which once was as efficient as our own and broader in its scope of service, is utterly wrecked. The railways which carried the mail are in the trash heap, the interchange arrangements with foreign countries have lapsed. Many of the buildings and offices of the system have been destroyed.

Similar conditions prevail in the telegraph and railway services, the internal revenue, the interior relations with the various States, the foreign affairs, the educational and agricultural departments. The courts went by the board long ago. The currency system is in a tangle which beggars description. There is no congress, and there is no way to go about electing a legal one. There are masses of outrageous and contradictory decrees in effect which must be abolished, and no legal method for doing it. Where to find a safe point of departure in beginning the work of regeneration is a huge problem.

An arbitrary start of some kind must be made, and therein lies one of the prime difficulties. Who will guarantee the legitimacy of the earliest acts of the new government? Of the new government itself? This, I take it, should be a matter of international agreement or recognition, lest the Mexicans at some future day use it as a political argument and as affecting titles to property. A starting-point will be found and the great work begun, but let us guard our relation to it with jealous care. The stamp of the American must not rest alone on this business.

There is another point for us to guard closely. In the upbuilding and reorganization of the Mexican institutions there will be sharp demands for intelligent men. These demands naturally will be made upon us, as in the past. Many of the demands will come through Government channels, and opportunities for the exercise of political favor will be many. Effective restrictions should be placed on this. Merit alone must decide the matter of such employment. We want no "deserving" Democrats or Republicans placed in these Mexican posts because of their political affiliations. The problem we face to-day is due primarily to our appointment of unfit men in payment of political debts to represent us in Mexico. Let there be no partisanship in this vital matter, and no carpet-bagging.

We know now that decisive action in the Mexican affair is upon us. We have three courses to pursue, besides the one outlined. They are: First, general intervention on a broad scale, with its enormous cost and untold liability; second, a bargain with some of the bandit factions to exterminate the others; third, recognition of Carranza, Mexico's chief destroyer.

The objections to general intervention are well known. After the immense surgical operation is performed years must elapse before the honesty of our motives can be established.

The possibilities of a deal with the minority interest in the bandit business are not alluring; it is general intervention complicated by bad partners.

Recognition of Carranza would be a crime too monstrous to be considered. We may not have known him and his crew when we began to encourage him. We know him now. And, further, we accomplish nothing in such recognition except our own deeper degradation and Mexico's despair. The problem would be still before us, with the added feature that we should have sentenced many thousands of Mexico's starving people to lingering deaths.

There is still another course: Repudiation of the entire matter—voluntary bankruptcy in this department of our affairs. In pursuing this course we confine our military operations to border fights. If any of our people are still in Mexico, they must get out or take the consequences. Whatever American property is there must take its chances and file a claim—when there is a place to file it. Our citizens residing along this side of the border must either move a hundred miles or so north or be ready to repel attack when our military forces are otherwise engaged. This condition of affairs will go on until Japan sends over troops to join the 50,000 or 60,000 Japanese already in Mexico and takes possession of the country. Or until the European struggle ends, when England or France or Germany will probably do it instead. I think this a fair draft of our earliest probable adventures in

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such repudiation. What the sequel would be is pure conjecture.

We have been spared coercion from Europe in our Mexican affairs by a merciful Providence that has seen fit to plunge the European continent in war. Our way with our Nationals in Mexico is not the European way, and there are many frugal Frenchmen who hold stocks or bonds in Mexican industries that have ceased operations. Also Englishmen, Belgians, Germans, and Spaniards. Securities of the demoted National Railways of Mexico in excess of $100,000,000 are owned in England and France. Over $200,000,000 of Mexico's bonded debt is held there. There are more than 200,000 individual European stockholders in Mexico's mines and industries. Nearly all of the 5,200 shareholders of Mexico's Banco Nacional are Frenchmen. (The Prince of Monaco is the largest shareholder of the bank.) European investments in Mexico total about one billion of our dollars. This does not include the holdings of Spaniards, which are not cash investments but inherited estates, nearly all of which have been put through a farcical process of military confiscation. The investment of our capital there about equals all of Europe.

Discussion of the course which any of the Powers interested in Mexico would take if they were not otherwise engaged is purely academic; it is not likely that all would remain complacent. Their uneasiness over Mexican conditions has been made manifest at various times, and our State Department has been stirred to outward activity by them. Possible European aggression in this affair has been treated by our writers almost invariably from a Monroe Doctrine angle.

It is not to meet our intangible Monroe Doctrine obligations that we should go forward in our Mexican affairs; it is because along that way lies the highest honor which we as a Nation can achieve; because Mexico has bled to death and its bloodless people are being throttled by savage criminals. Incidentally we have the wrongs of our own people to right so far as we can, our own National position to safeguard, and a great line of industries, in which a million of us are shareholders, to set in motion.

Our Mexican complication is our own and no other's. As we gird our loins to face it in earnest let us bear in mind that in our future relations with Mexicans we shall do well to lessen the pressure of our altruistic protestations; we have been doing things "for Mexico's good" for thirty months—if not longer. We must not permit the fact that we took nine hundred thousand square miles of territory from Mexico in an earlier day seem to make us fearful of being misunderstood now. The Mexicans respected us then. Until quite recently the person of an American was sacred in their eyes. It is only since we began to insist on our desire to "be good to them" that we have lost caste and our pioneers have lost their lives.

So, in making our arrangements for the great enterprise by which Mexico must be rescued and our own moral and business interests served, let our statements be as businesslike as we can make them. But let us not delay. Let us assemble quickly our clearest brains and our best resolution for the urgent task. These be great forces. They have moved mountains in their day, and their potency has not lessened. Let us apply them now to bring peace and prosperity to a whole people, and our problem, the resurrection of Mexico, shall thus be solved in a manner which men may look upon and say is worthy of the brand it bears—the American brand of enduring service to mankind.

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THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY
LATE MAJOR UNITED STATES VOLUNTEERS

THE events of the European war have brought home to American citizens the necessity of giving thought to the defenses of the Republic. Inquiry is being made as to whether the resources of the United States have been so utilized that the Nation is now in a position to protect its own coasts; and whether, further, it is strong enough to take such action as may be required in connection with the obligations it has assumed outside of its immediate territory. If the defenses are at this time inadequate, it is necessary to decide what ought now to be done.

The experts appointed for the purpose have reported through the Government to the country that under present conditions it would not be practicable to prevent a hostile force from taking possession of our coast cities.

They report further that in case any European Power should undertake to occupy territory in South America or in Central America the United States would be impotent to prevent such occupation.

It is evident that the Government of the United States is derelict in its duty if it fails to take such measures as the experts report to be necessary to protect its own territory and resources, to maintain its independence, and to fulfill its obligations.

This requirement for National defense is not a new matter. The men who have expert knowledge of the subject have for years given to successive Administrations urgent recommendations as to the present needs and as to the things that should be done. It is, however, only the tragic events of the European war that have made it possible to secure the attention of the public to the needs and the duties of Americans. We have been told by the teachers of pacifism that if a nation will attend to its own business, will avoid acts of aggression, and will treat its neighbors in the family of nations with fairness and with good will, it will not itself be liable to attack. We have been reminded by these same pacifist teachers that the United States is protected from possible aggressors by not less than three thousand miles of ocean. We have been told further that our international relations have been so far established and confirmed by treaties that we can be in no risk of war unless we are foolish enough ourselves to be the aggressors. We have, however, learned that treaties and guarantees are no protection, and can, in fact, by ambitious and aggressive nations be treated as "scraps of paper" to be torn up at will.

Belgium presents a sad example of the failure of neutrality guaranties to prevent aggression and ruin when such guaranties stand in the way of an ambition for empire. We may learn from the recent history of China that distance is itself no protection.

In 1793 Washington wrote to Congress:

"If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be made known that we are at all times ready for war."

Washington could hardly be described as a jingo. He had at heart nothing but the interests of his country, and he realized that these interests depended largely upon the maintenance of peace; and yet Washington, at a time when it took months to move sailing vessels across the Atlantic, found ground for anxiety about the defenses of our coast.

Some years before the present war, a colonel of the Prussian Staff, Freiherr von Edelsheim, brought into print in Berlin a small volume called "Operations on the Sea." In this volume the Colonel presents, not as a dream or a romance based on military possibilities, but in the form of a well-considered scientific scheme, a report of plans for the invasion and domination of Great Britain and for taking possession of certain coast cities in the United States.

It may, I think, be recognized that if Great Britain had at this time been carrying on war with Germany without the aid of her powerful Allies, she would have been crushed, or would at least have come very near to destruction. The German Colonel points out that as soon as coaling stations have been secured (by the appropriation of the British West Indies) on this side of the Atlantic the German fleet will be in a position to act against the United States. Writing four or five years before the present war, he shows

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that there were then available transports sufficient to ship two hundred and fifty thousand men a week for three weeks from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. He estimates, however, that the first two shipments would be sufficient for the purpose. He explains that there would be no idea of an assault in front of the fortifications of cities like New York and Boston. There is no difficulty, he points out (and in this he is, of course, right), with a selection of proper weather, in landing at Southampton (Long Island) the troops required for the occupation of New York. "The Americans have no army, and there would be nothing to withstand the advance of two or three German divisions. A similar course would be taken with Boston and with Washington. These cities would be given the alternative of being destroyed or of putting themselves under bonds for satisfactory indemnities or ransoms." A thousand millions of dollars might be sufficient, he suggests, in the case of New York. "With the coast cities and the capital occupied, the Republic would crumble. . . . We should have no need," the Colonel goes on, "to occupy the country as a whole; that would be a large task and would give no advantage. Our purpose would be accomplished when we had secured a dominating control over the policy of the United States."

We may ourselves not accept the conclusion that the occupation of the coast cities would bring about "the crumbling of the Republic." Chicago and Denver and San Francisco would have something to say to that. A resistance would be organized and the invaders would in the end be thrown out; but think of the destruction of life and of resources that would be brought about by such an occupation and by the final struggle for independence! The development of the Republic would be put back for half a century or more! Are we willing to look forward to any such risk? Have we of this present generation the right to take any such chances?

A recent article in the "Kölnische Zeitung," written for the purpose of bringing the Americans into a proper state of mind in regard to such occurrences as the Lusitania horror, points out that the newly built German submarines have a radius of four thousand miles. "We are now in a position," said the writer, "when the proper time comes, to dominate American as well as English commerce."

We may recall the disgrace that came upon the country when, in 1814, Washington was occupied and (to the disgrace of the British commander) was burned. At the time when 6,000 British took possession of the city of Washington we had 200,000 men under arms. These troops had been hastily collected, and had been brought together by method and preparation that may fairly be described as "hysterical." They were not organized forces. There was plenty of public spirit and of individual courage, but the men were not fit to fight together because they had not been trained together and they had had no previous relations with their commanders.

It is the recommendation of the pacifists, headed by the late Secretary of State, that we should delay preparing to resist invasion until there was immediate risk of war. What enemy, they inquire, is in sight? Why should we borrow trouble in advance? In replying to such a contention, one feels as if one were talking to children. When the enemy is in sight, it is already too late to make preparation. The million of men who would, as Mr. Bryan reports, "spring from the streets of the city and from the farms to the defense of the Republic" would be no good when they had reported themselves to the colors. They would have no training, no arms, no officers. They would constitute simply what the Germans call *canonenfütter*—food for powder. The pacifist teachers who are willing to send forward against disciplined soldiers unskilled and untrained citizens are ready to sacrifice to no purpose the public spirit and the patriotism of the Republic.

The National Security League has been organized for the purpose of crystallizing and directing public opinion in regard to this all-important matter of National defense.

We are utilizing the sympathetic interest excited by the devastation of Belgium and the attempt to crush France in order that the United States shall take measures to prevent its own territory from being brought into a similar risk of devastation and oppression; but the present war is utilized merely as an incentive to the discussion of the question. The measures recommended do not belong to the necessities of to-day or of to-morrow. We are trying to bring about an assured, continued, and conservative policy of National defense. We consider it essential to avoid the awful waste of life and of resources caused by "hysterical" preparation

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for war, preparation made under pressure. We are acting in the manner prescribed by our institutions. We are attempting to arouse the interest and direct the thoughts of the voters so that through them Congress and the Executive can be impressed.

We are not recommending crude, ill-considered plans of unskilled citizens. We are emphasizing the need of common sense and the wisdom of paying attention to the reports of the experts who have been trained by the country for the purpose of giving counsel on just such matters. We want the navy perfected in accordance with the recommendation of successive naval boards. We want the army filled out and measures taken for the organization of a reserve force of trained citizens in accordance with the recommendations of successive Secretaries of War, Republican and Democratic.

In regard to this matter of the filling out of the ranks of the present petty and inadequate army and to the plans for the erection of a reserve force, the Democratic Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, a clear-headed and capable adviser, confirms in substance and almost in detail the plans recommended by his predecessor, the able and patriotic Secretary Stimson. The President himself has spoken of the necessity of "an armed citizenry." There is space here to say merely that there is no thought on the part of the Security League or in the reports of the two Secretaries of War, whose schemes the League is supporting, of establishing a great standing army. We want to give to citizens the necessary training and to return them promptly to civil life. It is our belief that the education given to the men under the present excellent army methods would itself constitute an adequate compensation for the loss of their productive labor during their years with the colors. We want these years with the colors reduced to two, and, in case of assured efficiency tested by examinations, to one. These men, returned to civil life with certificates of efficiency, would be assured of employment. They would, under the present plan, be retained on the lists of the army and would be held subject to call for five years. Having once received their training, they would, of course, be available for service for a long series of years to come, and they would be the first to volunteer in time of emergency.

Switzerland presents for us an example of what a patriotic and high-spirited nation is prepared to do for the purpose of maintaining its own independence and of fulfilling its neutrality obligations. Switzerland has had three hundred thousand trained citizens under arms for the defense of its frontier, and, however great may have been the temptation to Germany to press an army into southern France through Swiss territory, its three hundred thousand rifles in the hands of trained citizens have constituted a sufficient barrier to German aggression.

Holland had, in similar fashion, organized its resources for the defense alike of its sorely threatened independence and of its neutrality obligations. There is no necessity for the United States to accept a burden upon its resources in any way proportioned to that which is borne so sturdily by these two little neutral States.

The stand made by little Belgium against the invading armies of Germany is now part of the history of Europe. This defense represents a sacrifice that was worth while, a fight that represented the highest duty—a fight for the liberties of the Belgians, for the maintenance of the obligations entered into by Belgium with England and with France, and for the right to exist of the smaller state against its aggressive and bullying military neighbor. The heroic action of Belgium constitutes an example and should serve as an inspiration to the United States.

If, however, we are prepared to maintain for our great Republic an assured defense and full independence of action, we must do something to arm and to train a proportion—a comparatively small proportion—of our citizens.

We are told by the pacifists that no war is impending; that there is no nation which would find it to its interests to attack the United States, and that by the time this war is over the European Powers will have been so far weakened that no one of them will be able to remain aggressive. We may hope that this war will result in the final smashing of militarism and in the defeat of the attempt of the Hohenzollerns to establish an Imperial domination; but what wise-minded American is willing to permit the maintenance of American independence to depend solely upon the chance that England and its allies may succeed? Why should we leave a duty that belongs to ourselves to be performed for us by the men on the other side of the Atlantic who are fighting in the cause of civilization?

National defense will cost money, but the

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cost will be small as compared with the enormous loss of resources that would be caused by a successful invasion, or even by a temporarily successful invasion, of our country. The "insurance" required is but a trifle in proportion to the property to be protected, but the property is the smallest part of the matter. There are such things as National liberties, National policies, National obligations, to be maintained which are still more precious than the value of the buildings in New York, in Boston, or in Washington.

We have had sermons from Mr. Bryan and others of his group as to the risk of corrupting the peaceful American character so that our own Nation would take on a spirit of militarism and would become a peril to itself and to its neighbors. It is difficult to listen with a straight face to diatribes of this kind.

What intelligent American believes that there is any risk of this country being abused or dominated by a military spirit? The one time in our history when the possibility of military domination occurred was at the close of the Civil War. Critics in Germany were pointing out that the returning armies then had in their hands the destinies of the Republic, and that there was serious chance that these half million or more of men might decide to take the control of affairs into their own hands. Americans knew better. Their soldiers melted back into the ranks of citizens and returned to their peaceful vocations.

To-day, after half a century of peace and with the interests of the country entirely absorbed in productive undertakings, what prospect is there that the people would be willing to create an army that would undertake to control the Republic, or that the material for such an army could be found? The little body of thirty-odd thousand men which constitutes the present mobile force is hardly likely to "dominate the Republic." A police force organized for the maintenance of peace within our own territories and for our contribution to the maintenance of peace throughout the world cannot carry with it—certainly not if made up of American material—any spirit of militarism.

Mr. Bryan and his group seem to make no distinction between the fighting that is an aggression and the fighting that may be called for as an act of duty. If A and B have promised to protect the interests of a weaker brother, C, and if A finds B plundering C, and, in the dislike that always comes from oppression, abusing him as well as robbing him, has A no duty in the matter? Is it in order for A, while poor little C is being crushed out of existence, to fold his hands and say, "I believe in peace!" That was the relation that England and France bore to Belgium, whose independence and whose liberties they had promised to protect. That is the relation that the United States now bears to the states of South America and of Central America. We must either prepare ourselves to fulfill this obligation or we must admit that we accepted it without any intention of carrying it out. How many American citizens are ready to accept the humiliation of such an admission?

The pacifist who talks blandly about "the risk of war being slight," and says that he is willing "to take the chance," forgets that the chance is not his to take. The men of the present generation are not the owners of the United States. We hold simply in trust a heritage that has come to us from our fathers; and it is for us to hand down to our children unimpaired the dominions and the resources of the country. We hold also in trust the ideals of our Republic, its purposes, and its rightful influence in the adjustment of the problems of the world. It is for us now to take such wisely considered action as shall place us in a position to fulfill these trusts. We must be prepared to take our part in the settlement after this war, and to use the influence of the United States, which will count only if back of the influence there is evidence of organized powers, in behalf of the claims and the rights of oppressed peoples. We must see to it that in this settlement territories and peoples are no longer to be chucked over the table as if they were pawns or poker chips. It is for the United States to insist that in the controversial territories the people shall have a voice in the selection of their own government, and in the direction of the policy to be pursued by such government.

In 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia decided that Europe was not to come under the domination of the Hapsburgs. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht decided that Europe would not accept the domination of the Bourbons. In 1815 the Treaty of Vienna confirmed the refusal of Europe to accept the control of the military Empire of Napoleon. The treaty—it may properly be a treaty of The Hague—which is to mark the close of the present war must do what those so-called settlements failed to do. It must not leave the seeds of immediate future wars. It is for such a

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treaty and for the abiding and developing principles back of such a treaty that the United States must be prepared to speak, to work, and to use influence—an influence all-important if backed by the necessary power.

The United States is also to give its voice in favor of the institution of an international court of arbitration backed by an adequate force of international police, maritime and military. The contribution that it will be necessary for the United States to make to such a world police, a contribution proportioned to our hundred million of people, our great resources, and our extended responsibilities, will call for much larger organized forces than those which are at this time being recommended by the Naval Board, the Secretary of War, and the Security League. We must have our quota ready, and it should be a force not hurriedly improvised, but one that will do credit to American training and American intelligence. These are the responsibilities with which the citizens of the United States are to-day confronted. They must be so handled that the great Republic will be passed on to the direction of the coming generation with its resources unimpaired and with its influence for good assured and extended.[1]

[1] The headquarters of the National Security League are at 31 Pine Street. American citizens generally who are interested in the purpose of National defense are invited to accept membership. The dues are one dollar a year, or for contributing members five dollars.

THE HERR DIRECTOR AND THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

BY EDWARD A. STEINER

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MUCH to my regret, the Herr Director did not sleep well on his second night in the United States. His nerves had suffered from those first thronging impressions; he looked pale and was decidedly irritable; "for how could a man sleep or be expected to sleep in this business canyon, loud from the thunder of the elevated and bright from the flashing of illuminated signs?" Together they had the effect of an electric storm upon him.

When he did fall asleep, he dreamed that the Metropolitan tower, the Woolworth building, and St. Patrick's Cathedral were dancing tango upon his chest.

This nightmare may have been due to the fact that just before retiring we witnessed an exhibition of this modern madness which seemed to be indulged in everywhere except in the churches, and possibly the barber shops. Partly also, perhaps, because the Herr Director insisted upon eating lobster shortly before midnight, in spite of the fact that I warned him against that indulgence. It was one of those generous United States lobsters, and not the diminutive shell-fish with which cultured Europeans merely tickle their palates.

The Herr Director had repeatedly pointed out our bad habit of leaving a great deal of food on our plates, and to impress upon me his better manners he had eaten the entire lobster.

I had not slept well that night either, in spite of the fact that I had eaten sparingly. I think it was the Herr Director himself who had "got on my nerves," and I was finding this task of showing off my beloved United States difficult and exacting.

That morning we were to leave New York, and I would introduce my guests to the great American out-of-doors, and the prospect added to my already uncomfortable frame of mind.

How I wished we might start from that

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marvelous Central Station in the heart of the city! But in order to reach our destination we had to cross the West Side where it is irredeemably tawdry and ugly, and take one of the ferry-boats to Weehawken. This somewhat inconvenient procedure made the Herr Director doubly critical.

The Fates were against us, for it was a hot, humid day, the car was crowded, and the start from Weehawken anything but auspicious.

In Europe the Herr Director travels second class when he travels officially (the first, as is well known, being reserved for Americans and fools), and third when he travels *incognito*, for he is a frugal soul. Nevertheless he did not like our cars; they were "obtrusively decorated," and privacy was impossible. Why should he have to look at a hundred or more human heads variously "*frisirt*"?

I suggested that we take seats in front, which we succeeded in doing, and then he found that if he wished to take off his collar he would have to do it with two hundred or more human eyes fastened upon him, when the hundred people possessing them had no business to see what he was doing.

I have already confessed how sensitive I am to criticism of anything American, no matter how just the criticism may be. So sensitive am I that had he reflected upon the good looks of my wife he could scarcely have hurt me more than when he reflected upon the beauty and arrangement of an American railway car.

And yet I have often wondered why our American genius seems to have exhausted itself when it evolved the present type of car, having done nothing to it except adding or taking away some of its "gingerbread." Nevertheless I lost my patience and told him that if he liked to travel cooped in with seven other passengers, four of whom he must face and two of whom might at any moment poke their elbows into his ribs; if he preferred to breathe air polluted by seven other people and have a fresh supply of ozone only at periods and in quantities regulated by law, I did not admire his taste. As far as I was concerned, I preferred to travel in this big room on wheels rather than in a jail-like box to which the conductor alone had the key. Anyway, this represented American democracy with its unpartitioned space; but, if he really wanted it, I could get him a stateroom in the Pullman and he could ride in isolated splendor and be aristocratically stuffy and uncomfortable.

When the Frau Directorin, in typical German phraseology, complained about the draught, "*Um Gottes Willen ein Zug!*" I decided to save the day, and we retreated to the Pullman stateroom.

There they rested themselves back and looked tolerably happy, while I silently but fervently prayed that this particular train would not disgrace itself by "committing" an accident.

The big American out-of-doors, even where it is old and its waste spaces are cultivated and hedged about, has something which is characteristically American. Of course nature knows no political boundary; the grass is green everywhere, the sky is blue, cattle and sheep, like man, have a long and honorable ancestry. Yet there is a difference which may not be due to what nature is, but to man's attitude toward and treatment of her.

I have noticed this in passing through Europe; how unerringly one knows where Germanic boundaries end and those of the Slav begin! German fields and forests are trim and orderly; Slavic territory is so ill kept and ill used that when one has a glimpse of a village even from the swift-moving train the difference is obvious.

Sometimes I am inclined to believe that this attitude of man affects his environment as much as we know the environment affects him. I wonder just how much the American out-of-doors, with its generous but not gentle aspect, its subdued but untamed spirit, is due to those valiant men who crossed the sea, and in so doing recovered a bit of their long-lost courage and made masters of men who so long had been serfs and knaves.

I had hoped that the sudden burst of the Hudson upon my guests' vision would thrill them; but if they were thrilled they were careful to conceal it. When I suggested the likeness of the Hudson to the Rhine, the Herr Director took it as a personal affront, and said that you might as well compare St. Patrick's Cathedral and that of Cologne. They are both churches and Gothic; the Hudson and the Rhine are two rivers and both are big.

Nevertheless I insisted that there is an evident resemblance, which would be complete if the Hudson had a ruined castle here and there or a picturesquely cramped village huddling against the hillside.

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"Yes; and besides castles and picturesque villages," the Herr Director replied, tartly, "you need a thousand years of culture and the same traditions which make the shores of the Rhine sacred to us; you also need generations of patiently plodding peasants who have made a sacrament of their toil. One glance at your rotting boats lying along the shore, at the untilled, gaping spaces, and glaring, inartistic signboards which disfigure it, is sufficient to distinguish the two rivers, or perhaps even the two countries."

Having thus forcefully delivered himself, he scornfully pointed out the waste places and the unkempt-looking fields, asking me whether I still dared compare anything in this out-of-doors with the fine economy and splendid supervision of the natural resources of his own country.

Shamefacedly I acknowledged my country's guilt and the guilt which was evident on the majestic shores of the Hudson. We are wasteful, extravagant, and reckless—great defects in our National spirit, and most in evidence in our treatment of nature's beauty and wealth. We shall have to remedy that—in fact, we are just beginning to do it—if not from any sense of guilt, from the same sheer necessity which makes the nations of the Old World careful of their national wealth.

"The conservation of our National resources" is a fine phrase; it represents not only an economic but a spiritual gain—this feeling of responsibility for the next generation. It is a new and most valuable asset of our National spirit; yet I must confess that I fear the coming of a day when we too shall have to practice the sordid little economies of the Old World and think with anxiety about the to-morrow.

It has always seemed to me that here the miracle of the loaves and fishes might be performed indefinitely, and that there always would be left over the baskets full of fragments. Somehow, in common with the rest of mankind, I have associated generous plenty with the American spirit, and I trust we shall never have just our dole and no more.

I recall walking one evening with the Herr Director and the Frau Directorin through the well-regulated, officially trimmed, and "*streng verboten*" forest which encircles his native city. My children were with us—young, vigorous American savages, who have a superabundance of the American spirit, although they have not a drop of American blood in their veins We passed a small mound of freshly mown hay, and they promptly jumped into it, tossing a few handfuls as an offering to their aboriginal deity, the wind. If they had dashed into the plate-glass window of a jeweler's shop or had desecrated the most holy shrine, they could not have caused greater consternation.

"*Um Gottes Himmels Willen, die Polizei!*" cried the Herr Director, and the Frau Directorin echoed: "*Die Polizei!*"

Although this happened about ten years ago, my children have not forgotten their fright.

I suppose we still lack this virtue of economy, and yet I hope we may not lose that certain largeness of nature and that generosity of spirit which have characterized us.

I love the generous spaces, the unfenced lawns, which make of the whole village one common park; the grass and clover free to the touch of our children's feet, the fragrant flowers wasting their bloom, and berries and cherries enough for the wild things of the woods. May the future never bring high walls and narrow lanes, big game preserves for the rich and scant patches of soil for the poor, castles for capital and tenements for labor! And may we never see written over every blade of grass, "*Streng Verboten!*"

No doubt the Herr Director was right when he said that what we lack over here is a healthy class spirit, which the German farmer has; a sort of pride in his calling which makes him care for the soil and nourish it with a lover's passion. To him robbing the soil is as great a crime as it would be to rob his children. It is not only the Emperor who regards himself as a partner with God, and sometimes the senior partner; the commonest, poorest peasant is apt to say as he drenches his field with the accumulated compost, "*Ich und Gott.*"

Speaking of the farmer, the Herr Director admitted that in Germany, as elsewhere, there is a trend to the city; but the tide is held back by the healthy pride of the German farmer, who glories in having his traditions, his folk-songs, and, above all, this sense of partnership with God.

We scarcely have such a thing as a farmer class; we have merely merchandisers in dirt, who sell, not only the products of the soil, but unhesitatingly the soil itself.

The land which we see from the car window, which the pioneers won from this boundless space, these houses and sheltering groves, the homesteads in which a great race was cradled, are all for sale, now that the soil is

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robbed of its fertility, and the robbers have moved on to repeat the process elsewhere. We are doing something, he admitted, to stem the tide to the cities; we are introducing agricultural training into our public schools and are making the raising of corn and wheat a science, but not as yet a sacrament.

We stayed overnight in one of the half-asleep towns on the shores of the river, a town whose history is written upon the headstones in the cemetery, in the center of which the stately meeting-house stands. We met the descendants of those who sleep there, whose pride lies in the fact that their forefathers were the pioneers who fought the Indians, the fevers, and each other. Their houses are full of old furniture shipped from England and Holland, and we ate their food and drank their tea from costly silver and exquisite china which they have inherited.

We looked upon the portraits of their ancestors and were told of their virtues and fame; we saw fine memorials to the past in churches and town halls, and rode in their automobiles to look upon the farms bequeathed to them. One thing, alas! they have not and never will have—descendants.

On one of the farms we saw a swarthy Italian with a bright-red rose behind his ear. His wife and children were working with him in the field, and they were doing this strange thing as they pulled weeds from the onion beds—they were singing. The Herr Director said, significantly, "These are the heirs to all this;" and I think he was right.

It is a wonderful thing to invent agricultural machinery and to discover new methods by which two blades of grass can be made to grow where only one grew; but if some one could tune our dull American ears so that our farmers might catch the melody of the singing land and sing with it; if our boys and girls would love wild roses well enough to wear them; if—and that is a big if—some one could teach us Americans to be proud of having descendants, we might add a new note to the great American out-of-doors, and keep it American.

That night we sat upon a wide veranda overlooking a valley through which the Hudson rolled majestically; we saw populous cities, picturesque villages, and bounteous farms; we looked into the heart of the great out-of-doors, and I was proud of it and of its free people, who ought to be a grateful people. There was deep silence everywhere; no sound except that of the birds, and they did not sing jubilantly, as birds ought to sing in so blessed a place and on so glorious an evening. No one sang except the same Italian, who was coming home with his wife and numerous progeny. He still wore the rose behind his ear, although it had faded. Those who sat with us had every luxury and more money than they knew how to spend; but they could not sing, for they were old; children there were none, and if there had been they would not have been singing.

After the Italian had eaten his frugal but pungent fare he came to the big veranda to get his orders for the next day, and the Herr Director spoke Italian to him and he replied in that language, which in itself is almost a song. His mistress asked him to bring his wife and children to sing for us. His wife did not come, but the children came. They would not sing an Italian song, it is true; that was just for themselves, in the great out-of-doors where only God heard. They sang some sentimental thing they had heard in the "movies"—chewing gum the while. I asked them to sing something their teacher taught them, but they knew nothing except "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" and the "Star-Spangled Banner," both of which they sang joylessly and not understandingly. How and why should they understand when these Americans did not?

It was a day full of dismal failure in my attempt to show off the American spirit; and the failure of it was rubbed into me by the Herr Director, who, as he bade me good-night, quoted as a parting shot this bit of German verse:

"*Und wo man singt*
Da las dich froelich nieder,
Denn boese Menchen haben keine Lieder."

The rub was in his inference that we have no song because we have no noble spirit.

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A GLANCE IN PASSING

FOOD

Food makes the man—without a question
Earth's ills are due to indigestion.
When Nero turned a bright magenta
From eating underdone polenta,
He burned, in his iniquity,
The show-place of antiquity.
The pirates, Chinese, Dyak, Lascar,
From Borneo to Madagascar,
At times become uncommon vicious
Through dieting on devil-fishes.
Why didn't the antipodes
Produce a new Euripides?
Because the Bushman's eating habits
Were never firmly fixed on rabbits,
But yearnings anthropophagous
Contorted his æsophagus.
How much the teeth and duodenum
Have cause to answer for, between 'em!

* *
*

In the dusk, when the mists rise from the water and lie in silver streaks under the stars, a hundred thousand long-legged poets steal out of the brushwoods and hollows and skip and cavort rhythmically along the sand-bars of the Wabash River. These are the Hoosiers, a race of literary beings dwelling in Indiana. Their feet are geared to fantastic music; but in the daytime they walk perforce in the practical ways of life. At night they are themselves, and caper quaintly. Every farm in Indiana has its Hoosier Poet. I have seen them pulling plows there, yoked side by side with frazzle-eared mules and patient piebald horses. The more sordid part of the population are aware of these moonlight revels among the frogs and rabbits of the bottomlands, and sometimes craftily stalk the wild bards and capture them, and take them to the homesteads and towns and condemn them to mental and manual toil. Whitcomb Riley is one of them that succeeded in remaining free, and it is no wonder that Indiana has been celebrating his birthday so joyously; there is an understanding between him and all the other thousands of Indiana's bards derived from the mutual memory of those twilight pranks and prancings; they look at Riley and smile knowingly, for they all remember the same clutching music; they, too, have seen Pan cut a pipe of elderwood and seat himself behind a shock of corn and call the loutish woodchucks from their holes. Riley is the representative of them in the world; they are sure no one understands him so well as they; the Nation may honor him as a poet, but *they* cannot forget that he was a Hoosier first.

* *
*

One Daniel Carey once told me a Riley story that I don't think I have ever seen printed.

But first, digressing, let me introduce Daniel. Daniel is the most accommodating and the politest man south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers, which is to say on earth. He used to be Park Commissioner of Atlanta, Georgia. One day a bride and her husband were feeding the swans on one of the lakes in one of Dan's pet parks. And the bride, casting crackers to the swans, lost her wedding ring; it dropped into the water. Dan just simply could not bear the idea of that poor little bride losing that ring. So he ordered the lake drained; it was done, and the ring restored to the bride.

Dan, and James Whitcomb Riley, and Joel Chandler Harris, and one of Mr. Harris's sons, were spending a couple of weeks at a resort in the Georgia mountains one summer. Riley and Uncle Remus had gone there to rest, and commune with nature, and see scenery, and dodge people who wanted them to be literary out of literary hours, and swap yarns. But at the hotel a conspiracy was organized against them; determined admirers admiringly determined that they should do stunts, whether or no. One evening they were trapped. As they sat on a bench under a tree and permitted a sunset to occur in front of them without ulterior poetic motives, a sweet young lady approached and informed them that a "reading" was in progress in the hotel parlors. And all the numbers on the programme consisted of poems and pieces from the pens of James Whitcomb Riley and Joel Chandler Harris. A trained elocutionist was at that instant awaiting their arrival to elocute. They groaned, and went to the house.

The elocutionist, femalely lachrymose, led off with a poem about some one by the name of Jim.

"Young lady," said Mr. Riley, when she had wrung the last tear from the pathetic piece, "would you mind reciting that poem again?"

Highly flattered, she acquiesced. Mr.

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Riley mopped his brow and blew his nose and dabbled at his eyes, apparently overcome.

"Jim!" he murmured, when she had finished the second time. "Jim! I always liked Jim poems! Jim is my *own* name. A Jim poem gets me as no other poem can. I have written several Jim poems. I don't want to impose upon you, madam, but—er, would you mind reciting it *again?*"

The lady recited it the third time. When she had finished, Mr. Riley said, pensively:

"You could never guess what I like best about that particular Jim poem!"

Nobody tried to. But everybody gathered around to hear.

"What I like best about that Jim poem," said Mr. Riley, "is that it always reminds me of my old friend 'Gene Field. Yes, it affects me. 'Gene Field wrote it, you know."

It sort of broke up the literary evening, and after that Mr. Riley and Mr. Harris were allowed to have a real vacation.

***

One night I saw a battle between a firefly and a fairy. I think he was an Irish fairy, for he grinned as he fought, and I know he was red-haired. The wicked monster, beast and bug at once, charged the fairy again and again, rushed and flew at him, fuming, pulsating luminously with throbs of rage, as if a winged bull of Nineveh were in the ring with a toreador—a winged bull that had swallowed a kitchen range, which glowed through its iron ribs. And, like a matador, the red-haired fairy dodged and side-stepped the furious rushes, and finally ripped up the beetle and laid it, extinguished and gray, among the other ashes at the feet of a little brown and gold lady (Queen Mab herself, perhaps) who had been watching the struggle from a hickory limb and nervously swallowing sparks from time to time to keep her courage warm.

For all this took place in a bed of coals, in a valley beneath a half-burned log, in an open fireplace. It was a scene that came out of the wood. It was a thing, for all I know, that had actually happened some night forty years ago, when that wood was green and growing and sucking in through leaf and root all the secret, deep, essential life of the abounding forest. The logs drink up the spirit of the midwoods, the sense of it, the moods and humors of it—April riots, scamperings of squirrels, June dusks, quick glintings of bright eyes, stir of wings—and when the bark chars and the sap sings it all comes out of the logs again in flame and song and dream and drama. Poke the fire and pick your forest—you may have the heart of any woods you will, from Arcadia to Arden.

I never had much luck with a coal fire. Locked within a lump of coal there should be stranger figures and fancies yet. When that coal was being formed, perhaps the pterodactyl and the dinosaur were hunting cave men through the bogs for breakfast; but I have strained my eyes in vain trying to see one of our remote ancestors squatting in a tree and throwing cocoanuts at a foe, while the winds of fear made gray his long bronze beard. And you are fortunate if you get even heat out of a steam radiator.

***

Because a trout greatly desires to swallow a certain kind of fly-decorated hook it does not necessarily follow that it is good for that trout's digestion or soul. So with man and red rum.

***

A Spanish astronomer announced the other day that he had found a new planet. He should make haste to hide it before the Kaiser claims it.

***

John Paul Jones and Patrick Henry have been refused a place in the Hall of Fame. Is it by its rejections that the Hall of Fame proposes keep itself before an interested public?

***

Some men are capable of wishing suffrage onto their wives (in the same spirit in which they make their wives do the quarreling with the janitor for more heat) just because these men are too good-for-nothing to do their own voting.

DON MARQUIS.

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GERMANY VERSUS PRUSSIA[1]

THIS Swiss professor's book might have been entitled "Germany versus Prussia." He shows us South Germany and he shows us North Germany—two very different regions. North Germany has now been swamped by Prussia—indeed, it would almost seem to a superficial observer as if the whole of Germany were being transformed, as if all the old, romantic Germany were becoming stifled by the realism of the barracks.

Of South Germany in contrast to North Professor Guilland says:

It is particularly from the South, from the rich plains of Swabia, that those legendary strong and clumsy Germans have come, with their immense speculative brains which seemed to embrace a whole world; there it is that the poets have sung in sweet, sober verses the true German life. In the North, on the other hand, in the interminable plains of Pomerania and Brandenburg, . . . the whole tendency is towards action. The literary men of that part are combative, and are soon transformed into critics. Take, for example, the Berlin romanticists—how different are they from those of Heidelberg! Wienbarg writes in "Aesthetische Feldzuge," "I like Uhland well enough, just as I like a fair German from the South, born in the midst of the mountains of vines in bloom and castles in ruins; but I like him only at times—at certain moments. . . . It is the task of us men of the North to encourage action and effort among these South Germans.

The real maker of Prussia was Baron Stein, one of the greatest men of his or any other age. He felt that Prussia must, above all, initiate moral reforms to become a pattern for other Germans. And so he inculcated in the Prussian people those virtues which he thought necessary for national life: the sense of duty, the spirit of sacrifice, and the feeling of patriotism. He paid special attention to the barracks and the schools. In the first he found, as M. Guilland truly says, "a matchless collaborator" in Scharnhorst, the chief organizer of the nation in arms. In the schools a spirit was emphasized which Emperor Willliam I described as developing in the children "diligence in their work, the feeling of duty, perseverance, order, economy, and obedience." Nor, in fairness, does the author let us forget that Prussia was the first state in Germany to make education free and obligatory, the first state whose universities broke away from the old scholastic spirit and introduced modern ideas. One can thus understand why more enlightened Germans in other parts of Germany, "jealous guardians of the intellectual superiority of their country," had respect for Prussia.

But Stein wanted to do more than merely to recreate Prussia. He wanted to show that the State of Brandenburg, the center of Prussian power, would become the center of the whole of Germany—that is, by the force of circumstances the Hohenzollern institutions would so spread as to become those of the other German states.

The subsequent history of Prussian ascendency is well known. In many respects it has been admirable, but in two respects not. The first is the stubborn resistance of the Prussian Junkers to liberal reforms, and in particular to a proper suffrage. The second and subtler aspect lies in the excess of patriotism engendered, not only in the barracks, but also in the schools and universities.

As we read the Introduction to M. Guilland's book, the beginning of Prussian overemphasis would seem to date from 1843. In that year the thousandth anniversary of the Treaty of Verdun was celebrated. The year 843 marks a particularly national date for Germany, for from that time Germany had an existence separate from that of France. The Swiss professor does well to accentuate the fact that on this anniversary the Prussian Government established a national history prize. Thenceforth certain historians pushed Prussia to the fore. But the movement had already begun, as the author later admits and explains in welcome detail. Most of us think of Niebuhr, who in 1810 became a professor in the University of Berlin, as the founder of historical criticism, but we do not always remember that when writing his Roman history Niebuhr tried to show how a real Prussia should be created. Latium had to annex all the country within its orbit to preserve its existence. In its turn Prussia must do the same. Niebuhr added: "Times change, kingdoms rise and become powerful, and the little republics and principalities cease to be states." And yet it should not be forgotten, as Professor Guil-

[1] Modern Germany and Her Historians. By Antoine Guilland. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $2.25.

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land is candid enough to admit, that everywhere Niebuhr takes up the defense of the oppressed, a point of view contrasting with that of some later Prussian historians who were contemporaries of the religion of force.

At the first glance, nothing seems less Prussian in character than the work of Leopold von Ranke, who in 1825 became professor in Berlin. He scarcely resembles the historians of the later school. And yet he was outspoken in defense of Prussianism. Like Niebuhr, he believed that the nation and the state are one and the same thing. The Prussian ideal, according to him, is to be and to remain a military monarchy.

After Ranke the Prussian militarists were represented by Theodor Mommsen, and of him M. Guilland gives us a pen portrait which must immediately appeal to the memories of students at the University of Berlin. The Germany of 1850, now being increasingly led by Prussia, was no longer the Germany of Fichte and Kant. Some practical philosophers were showing that conditions are always changing; that the value of right may depend upon the force which upholds it; that if this force be wanting the weak will be sacrificed, and that if in the final crash the innocent are taken and the cunning guilty escape unscathed it is a law of the world and all our protests will not alter it. But to say that "Mommsen's 'history of Rome' is nothing but the glorification of force" seems to us incorrect.

Heinrich von Sybel, whose opinions had been formed by Ranke at Berlin, was Ranke exaggerated. Sybel was the author of one of the five works which appeared in the years 1853–5. At first sight these seemed to bear no relation one to another. One dealt with the French Revolution, the next with Roman history, the third with German history at the beginning of the century, the fourth with the beginning of the house of Brandenburg, and the last with Imperial Germany. And yet, as M. Guilland truly says, they all emanated from the same spirit, applied the same method, and looked toward the same goal—that is to say, to write history from a Prussian national point of view. These five works were Sybel's "Geschichte der Revolutionzeit," Mommsen's "Römische Geschichte," Häusser's "Deutsche Geschichte," Droysen's "Geschichte der Preussischen Politik," and Giesebrecht's "Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit." Sybel glorified Prussianism, but it was repugnant to him to have to confess that his country might have had recourse to reprehensible means to achieve her ends. His latest work was "The Founding of the German Empire," which appeared from 1889 to 1896.

But the king of distinctly Prussian historians was Heinrich von Treitschke. Of him there is also an admirable character sketch, as any one who heard him lecture at the University of Berlin will testify. From it we quote these phrases:

Treitschke led people by the vigor of his argument and the originality of his form. . . . What made his success was the fact that throughout his lectures, always fiery and very "worked up" in tone, one could feel an ardent patriotic inspiration and an echo of the flourish of trumpets of 1870. This was the note which perpetually vibrated in his lectures. Treitschke actually lived under the effect of the great Prussian victories. To this he added a most extraordinary gift of form. . . . You would say to yourself that he must certainly be a writer. And you would not be mistaken. . . . He wrote a great work—"A History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century." . . . Treitschke gave his compatriots . . . a national history written in a popular and living style. The pictures therein are sometimes overcharged with color. The ultra-Prussian point of view prevails in it with a brutality which shocks you. From one end to the other you breathe a fighting atmosphere. . . . Treitschke became toward the end of his life a reactionary monarchist. He came to detest all the manifestations of modern life and ended by proposing . . . a Teutonic ideal of the Middle Ages. . . . When dealing with English policy, the Prussian historian can see nothing but commercialism and immorality, British pride, pitiless to the weak. . . . In Treitschke's mind a German nature cannot be vile. The German race alone has truly known idealism, frankness, absolute self-forgetfulness. We recognize in Treitschke's ideal the type dear to Tacitus—the man of the forests of indomitable courage, rough and hard, chaste, without elegance and refinement, but substantial. . . . It was through love of his country that he [Treitschke] became so narrow in his ideas and so exclusive in his principles.

Our critic is careful to note that, however limited the political conception of these historians—mostly Berlin men—their private lives were upright and their intentions honest; that, though they wanted a powerful Prussia, they also wanted an enlightened state; that if their philosophy of history urged them to justify force and guile, they also tried to show that force was not detachable from

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moral worth. But we can see that, while their learning was immense, and while they were unexcelled in scientific investigation, they were not always able to deduce from their learning accurate and reasonable ideas.

The new Germany certainly does not answer to their ideals. Treitschke said in 1895: "All our habits have become coarser. . . . If politics have become coarser, the proximate cause lies in the disquieting transformation of our public life." Yet who, if not Prussian historians developed in the youth of Germany the excess of national pride and the jingoism now deplored?

It is a far cry from the earlier German authors, whom Professor Guilland has justly described as "the most idealistic and most widely human writers in the world," to the Prussian age, which would justify the policy of force, a policy having defenders in the Prussian historians. They helped to pervert the Prussian mind. They were the propagators of the political maxims to refute which humanity is shedding seas of blood.

THE READER'S VIEW

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

"I heartily approve," says James Withycombe, Governor of Oregon, "of minimum wage laws where they are executed with due regard to the just protection of both employer and employee. Certainly the minimum wage works for the best interests of all concerned; as even the most selfish employer is coming to realize more and more that his own ends are best served when his employees are reasonably well provided with the comforts and necessities of life."

Yours for more minimum wage laws, and for gardens, parks, and peace.

Chicago, Illinois. NATHANIEL BACON.

DEFENSE AND NON-RESISTANCE

In to-day's New York "Times" (September 22) Dr. Lyman Abbott is quoted as saying, in a letter to the American Defense Society:

"If there are in this country any persons who believe that non-resistance is the duty alike of individuals and nations, they should set themselves to work to secure an amendment to, or an abolition of, the United States Constitution."

As I am one of those who believe in the principle of non-resistance as taught by Christ, I ask you, Dr. Abbott, in all sincerity, whether you, as a Christian minister, hold the Constitution in higher regard than the Sermon on the Mount. T. B. A.

Summit, New Jersey.

I do not believe that Jesus taught the doctrine of non-resistance. On the contrary, I believe his whole life was one of active and energetic resistance to the power of evil. But, if I thought otherwise, I certainly would not ask the President of the United States and the other officers of the Government to violate their sacred oath and fail to provide for the National defense when they had solemnly sworn that they would make such provision. L. A.

A DEFENSE OF GERMAN AUTOCRACY

In almost every issue of your valued weekly you attack the German state. You seem to consider it as some sort of mercilessly working machinery; or if you assign any human qualities to it, you make it appear as if the motives and aims of all its activities were purely materialistic and void of all morality.

You write much about the relation of the state to the people. You accuse Germany of making the people serve the state instead of the state serving the people, as in democracies.

It is true that in the United States, for example, the state (the Government) serves the people directly. But with what results? The Nation is weak, defenseless, unable to cope with both internal and external difficulties. In Germany, on the contrary, the state serves the people indirectly, and with results supreme. If I serve the state, I serve the people; by helping the whole I help myself, who am part of the whole. If I serve the state by military service, I serve the people and myself. If in time of war I put my property at the disposal of the state, voluntarily or under compulsion, it will be to the benefit of the people and ultimately to my own benefit. The state, then, serves the people by compelling the people to serve the state.

A direct service which the German state does the people consists in the system of beneficial and most democratic labor laws. Where is the like of this in the United States? Strikes like the recent carpenters' and builders' strike in Chicago, a gigantic calamity affecting the welfare of thousands, are impossible in Germany.

CARL N. LISCHKA.

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BY THE WAY

A happy ending to the usually mournful story of miners entombed alive was that in the case of nine miners who were swallowed up in the Foster Tunnel mine at Coaldale, Pennsylvania, recently. For seven days rescuers tried to reach their imprisoned comrades; when the last barrier was removed, the men were found alive and well! The luncheons brought with them on the day of the disaster had kept them from starving.

If modern road-builders were to try to reproduce a highway like the Appian Way of the Romans, the cost would be about $500,000 a mile, according to Director Page, of the United States Office of Public Roads. In our time, he says, these massive ancient highways have no place; what is needed is, mainly, a highway to meet the conditions brought about by the stupendous increase in the use of motor cars.

The North German Lloyd steamship company, whose great fleet of vessels has been lying idle for over a year, apparently expects the war to end in the not remote future, for it has recently renewed the lease on the expensive premises which it occupies as its offices in New York City.

A Boy Scout in London won the heart of Filson Young, who after a tour of the slums wrote: "When I came away, I was escorted by a small atom detailed to guide me to the Elephant Tube station; it was an unknown world to me, but I cannot describe the sense of safety I had in that flaming pandemonium of South London while the small boy trotted beside me. When we parted, I tendered certain coppers to him so that he should return by bus or tramcar. 'But we don't take money, sir,' he said, and, saluting, departed into the night."

The United States navy has dropped the term "helm" and will in the future use the unmistakable word "rudder." Instead of the old-fashioned command, "Starboard your helm," the new directions will be, "Right rudder." The old phrase sounds more "nautical," but quickness of comprehension and action are nowadays essential, and picturesque terminology must suffer.

The attitude of a friendly Indian toward the whites in Colonial days is aptly brought out in "A History of Travel in America" in this remark of an Onondaga chief to a white traveler: "If a white man in traveling through our country enters one of our cabins, we treat him as I do you. We dry him if he is wet; we warm him if he is cold; we give him meat and drink to allay his hunger and thirst, and soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house and ask for victuals and drink, they say, 'Where is your money?' and if I have none they say, 'Get out, you Indian dog.'" The Indians as a race, says the author of the book, largely acted as this chief did, their hospitable attitude being later changed by the impositions to which they were subjected.

Pittsburgh's steel mills are reported to be paying a million dollars a day in wages. Steel is now being made at a rate which is far ahead of any previous year in the industry's history.

Margaret Sherwood says in the "North American Review:" "For sheer escape from contemporary trouble, personal or international, who can help us as can William Blake? . . . At its best, the lyric of Blake is one, entire, with singleness of thrust, driven home by passion of feeling, by sweet energy of meter, and by a clear, bright concreteness of phrase." Two examples may be quoted here:

> "The Angel that presided at my birth
> Said: Little creature made of joy and mirth,
> Go, love without the help of anything on earth."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "To see the world in a grain of sand,
> And heaven in a wild-flower;
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
> And eternity in an hour."

This harking back to the older poets in these troublous times is perhaps explained by Lawrence Gilman in the same number of the "Review." He says: "The typical poet of to-day is chiefly conspicuous for his disdain of the poetical. His contempt for the traditional associations, the traditional materials, of poetry is deep and immitigable. His aversion to meter is incurable. He chooses to believe that he has discovered 'free verse;' and he will tell you that the time has come to 'strip poetry of its meaningless tatters of form, and clothe her in new, suitable garments.'"

So far from being discouraged by the danger of submarines, the Cunard Company is inaugurating a new service between Boston and London. The sailings will be bi-monthly; at present the steamers will carry freight only, but a passenger service may be instituted later.

The latest development of the canning industry appears to be, according to a note in the "Rural New Yorker," for the benefit of the domestic hen. "This plan of killing woodchucks and canning them for winter chicken feed," it says, "is a good one to consider."

Rather unexpected, says an English paper, was the reply of a Mrs. Tommy Atkins to a lady who inquired if her husband was at the front. "Yus," she said, "an' I 'ope 'e'll serve the Germans as 'e served me."

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